

INSTITUTE  
OF PACIFIC  
RELATIONS

SECTION 3

subject INSTITUTE  
OF PACIFIC  
RELATIONS

file no. 100-64700

section no. 3

serials 73 - 110

# FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Form No. 1  
THIS CASE ORIGINATED AT

LOS ANGELES, CALIFORNIA

FILE NO. 100-1308?

95185

REPORT MADE AT <b>LOS ANGELES</b>	DATE WHEN MADE <b>6-13-47</b>	PERIOD FOR WHICH MADE <b>6-7, 9, 29, 30; 2-3, 13, 14, 15, 26; 3-5, 7, 13, 22; 4-10, 17; 5-1, 6, 8; 10-17-47</b>	REPORT MADE BY <b>b7C</b>
SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA DIVISION, AMERICAN COUNCIL, INSTITUTE OF PACIFIC RELATIONS aka Institute of Pacific Relations		CHARACTER OF CASE <b>ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED</b>	

SYNOPSIS OF FACTS:

Southern California Division, American Council, Institute of Pacific Relations was organized in April, 1946, with headquarters in the offices of the Los Angeles Chamber of Commerce. Information received that an attempt was being made to interest sponsors of Russian War Relief in the Institute of Pacific Relations. SONJA OHL.



DETAILS: b7C

*100-64700-73*

MARTHA NORD, Executive Secretary of Russian War Relief, while winding up the affairs of that organization, made the comment that she was trying to interest Russian Relief sponsors in the Institute of Pacific Relations.

The Institute of Pacific Relations as an international organization was founded in 1925 at a conference held in Honolulu, Hawaii. Before this Honolulu Conference it was originally planned that this organization would be sponsored by the I.M.C.A. to deal with work and problems of that organization in the Pacific area, but later pre-conference sessions developed the plan for the Institute of Pacific Relations to be a self-governing and self-directing body concerned with promoting the best relations between the Pacific peoples and avoiding misunderstanding and conflicts while promoting leadership and cooperation. Eight international conferences have been held

*R.B.Hood*

Special Agent in Charge

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36 JUN 24 1974

Los Angeles

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since the original conferences: one in Hawaii, one in Japan, one in China, two in Canada, and three in the United States.

In an article by ANDREW IVERY appearing in the "Chicago Journal of Commerce" on July 1, 1946, it was stated that the Institute of Pacific Relations was an important organization and many of its writers and specialists have held high positions in the State Department. The article pointed out that many of the top officers are not Communists but that gradually some Communists have infiltrated into the Institute and use its publications to express Russian policies. The article pointed out that EDWARD C. CARTER, Director General of the Pacific Council of the Institute and head of the American Society for Russian Relief, previously called Russian War Relief, had been associated with such front organizations as the International Workers Order. It also stated that FREDERICK VANDERBILT FIELD, [REDACTED] was Secretary of the American Council of the Institute for many years and was at the United Nations San Francisco Conference as a representative of the Institute and also as a writer for the "Daily Worker". b7c

b7d



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In an article in the "Los Angeles Times" on May 6, 1946, it was stated that the Southern California headquarters for the Institute of Pacific Relations had been established in the Chamber of Commerce Building and that it would operate as a non-profit research organization on the Far East, to be supported by the contributions of business corporations, foundations, and individuals. Miss SONJA DAWL was named as Executive Secretary.

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[REDACTED]

SONJA DAHL was Executive Secretary of the Motion Picture Artists Committee in 1937 and 1938 and Executive Secretary of the Hollywood Anti-Nazi League in 1938 and 1939. She was Executive Secretary of the Hollywood League for Democratic Action in 1939 and 1940 and assisted in the organizational plans for the west coast chapter of Fight for Freedom as well as in the Southern California chapter of Russian War Relief. She was a prominent member of the United American Spanish Aid Committee and was Chairman of the Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee, a consolidation of United American Spanish Aid Committee and another refugee committee.

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[REDACTED]

She has been a member of the Hollywood chapter of the League of American Writers, and during the war she was a Captain in the Los Angeles Unit of the Women's Ambulance Defense Corps.

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In the office of the Los Angeles County Registrar of Voters it was learned that there is no current registration for SONJA DAHL but that there is an old registration for Mrs. SONJA ~~X~~ BIBERMAN, who registered on July 18, 1940, from 3332 Deronda Drive, Hollywood, at which time she gave her occupation as housewife and her political affiliation as Democratic. She stated that she was born in China and was of Swedish descent through her father. She was naturalized by Decree of Court on March 22, 1940, at Los Angeles, No. 4796287.

Frequent spot checks at the headquarters of the Institute of Pacific Relations on the east mezzanine of the Chamber of Commerce offices located at 1151 South Broadway, Los Angeles, disclosed that there are very few callers at the headquarters of the Institute and that most of these callers are referred either to the Institute by the Foreign Trade Division of the Chamber of Commerce or by the Institute to this division of the Chamber of Commerce.

The only other office worker at the Institute headquarters besides Miss DAHL is a woman about fifty years of age who drives a 1937 Packard Sedan, the registration of which was issued to MOLLEY ~~X~~ SOLOMON, 5657 Sunset Boulevard, Hollywood. A check of the Registry of Voters reflects that Mrs.

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MOLLEY SOLOMON registered on April 6, 1944, from 5657 Sunset Boulevard, stating that she was a housewife and had been born in Canada and naturalized by marriage to a citizen of the United States prior to September 22, 1922. It was further shown that she married SYLMAN SOLOMON on January 11, 1922, at Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. There is no other identifiable information concerning MOLLEY SOLOMON in the Los Angeles files.

The spot checks have disclosed that on February 3 and May 8, 1947, PAULAH HULDERMANN called at the Institute headquarters and conferred at length with SCARJA DAHL. HULDERMANN is a Director of the Institute and further information concerning him is set forth later.

The Southern California Division sponsored a luncheon in honor of WILLIAM L. HOLLAND, Secretary-General of the Institute of Pacific Relations, at the Clark Hotel in Los Angeles on May 17, 1946. Also sponsored was a round table conference at the University of California at Los Angeles Religious Conference Building on Friday, June 14, 1946, concerning dependent territories in Asia and the Pacific and American interest and policy. The Southern California Division also participated in the conference at Asilomar on the Monterey Peninsula from December 13 to 15, 1946, concerning "The Outlook for Reconstruction and Development in Asia and Its Significance for Western America". Publicity indicated that the presiding officer of this conference was Mr. DONALD M. NELSON.

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**FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION**  
**FOIPA DELETED PAGE INFORMATION SHEET**

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- Deleted under exemption(s) b7d with no segregable material available for release to you.
- Information pertained only to a third party with no reference to you or the subject of your request.
- Information pertained only to a third party. Your name is listed in the title only.
- Document(s) originating with the following government agency(ies) \_\_\_\_\_, was/were forwarded to them for direct response to you.

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The following number is to be used for reference regarding these pages:

100-64700-73 pages 5 through 10

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LA 100-13083

**UNDEVELOPED LEADS:**

**THE LOS ANGELES OFFICE**

**AT LOS ANGELES, CALIFORNIA**

Will follow and report any activities indicating an attempt by Communists to infiltrate into the Southern California Division of the Institute of Pacific Relations.

LA 100-13083

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These sources are being marked confidential at their  
request.

95189

Mr. Tolson  
Mr. E. A. T.  
Mr. Clegg  
Mr. Coffey  
Mr. Glavin  
Mr. Ladd  
Mr. Nichols  
Mr. Rosen  
Mr. Tracy  
Mr. Carson  
Mr. Egan  
Mr. Hendon  
Mr. Pennington  
Mr. Quinn Tar  
Mr. Nease  
Miss Gandy

Comparison to U. S. Resented

## 4 Western Students Walk Out On Talk Lauding Red System

Four Western High School students yesterday walked out of an assembly in protest against what they believed to be an unfair comparison between Russia and the United States.

The students, three girls and one boy, are all seniors at the school. Their spokesman, 17-year-old Virginia Lanham of 4532 Lowell St., New, said late yesterday that they believed they had "proved what they wanted to prove" by their demonstration, and would return to their classes today.

Miss Lanham explained that the protest of the four students was not directed against the school, but solely against what she termed a "communistic" speech made yesterday morning by Mrs. Aleksandra P. Lewis, Russian-born wife of a former diplomatic clerk, who is now a student at George Washington University.

Miss Lanham told reporters that the point at which she and the other students left the assembly home when Mrs. Lewis was saying that everything in Russia was free schools, even having babies, while it costs money to go to schools or to have babies in the United States.

The four students who walked out were Miss Lanham, Virginia Marackie, 17, 3700 Huntington St. N.W.; Ruth Pigott, 18, 8128 N.W. St.; and Dick Smith, 20, 2205 Howell Rd., Alexandria.

Nathaniel A. Danowsky, principal of Western High School, said that Mrs. Lewis had "contrasted the American system by implication unfavorably with the Russian system."

Danowsky told reporters yesterday that he had invited Mrs. Lewis to speak on the Soviet educational system when he had arranged a similar meeting the previous January at Wilson Teachers College.

Mrs. Lewis' January address, entitled "I Lived in Russia," was part of an inservice institute arranged by the Institute of Pacific Relations. IPC officials said yesterday that Mrs. Lewis was not an affiliate of that group, but is a teacher of Russian in a local language school. Mrs. Lewis, who lives at 1678 Irving St. N.W. could not be reached for comment on the walkout of the four pupils. She had left for New York by plane shortly after her address was delivered.

Danowsky said that Mrs. Lewis talked for about 25 minutes at yesterday morning's assembly, and that toward the end of her talk "she digressed into political aspects which I expressly asked her not to discuss."

A House Un-American Affairs Committee investigator visited the school yesterday afternoon. Representative Karl Mundt (R., S.D.), a committee member, said early this morning, however, that an official investigation by the committee had not been ordered.

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JUL 8 1947

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RECD 100-64700-74  
EX-B  
JUL 14 1947  
MAY 7 1947

WASHINGTON POST  
Page 1

What do we have  
on the Institute of  
Pacific Relations?

Office Memo. *num.* UNITED GOVERNMENT

TO : The Director  
 FROM : Mr. D. M. Ladd  
 SUBJECT: *o* INSTITUTE OF PACIFIC RELATIONS  
 Internal Security - C

DATE: May 10, 1947.

*dr G*

Mr.	Tolson
Mr.	E. A. Tamm
Mr.	Clegg
Mr.	Glavin
Mr.	Ladd
Mr.	Nichols
Mr.	Rosen
Mr.	Tracy
Mr.	Carson
Mr.	Egan
Mr.	Gurnea
Mr.	Harbo
Mr.	Hendon
Mr.	Pennington
Mr.	Quinn, James
Mr.	Tollie, Room
Mr.	Nease
Miss	Holmes
Miss	Gandy

Reference is made to the article which appeared in the Washington Post for May 7, 1947, concerning the four Western High School students who walked out of an assembly in protest against what they believed to be an unfair comparison between the United States and the Soviet Union. This protest was caused by the address of Mrs. Aleksandra P. Lewis, a Russian-born wife of a former diplomatic clerk who is now a student at George Washington University. Mrs. Lewis is mentioned in the article as having on a previous occasion addressed an audience in connection with an inservice institute arranged by the Institute of Pacific Relations.

In accordance with your request as to what we have on the Institute of Pacific Relations, there is attached hereto a brief summary concerning the Organization for your information.

Attachment

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[REDACTED] INFORMATION CONTAINED  
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JUL 8 1947

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May 10, 1947

X INSTITUTE OF PACIFIC RELATIONS - Summary  
Internal Security - C

Background

According to the December, 1946, issue of "Pacific Affairs", which is published quarterly by the Institute of Pacific Relations, 1 East 54th Street, New York, New York, the "Institute of Pacific Relations is an unofficial and non-political organization founded in 1925 to facilitate the scientific study of the peoples of the Pacific area. It is composed of autonomous National Councils in the principal countries having important interests in the Pacific area, together with an International Secretariat. It is privately financed by contributions from National Councils, corporations, and foundations. The Institute, as such, does not advocate policies or doctrines and is precluded from expressing opinions of national or international affairs. It is governed by a Pacific Council composed of members appointed by each of the National Councils." (100-64700-60)

Organizational Setup and Officers

The Pacific Council is made up of the following members:

3/15/83  
Classified by SP/BS/US  
Declassify on: 3/15/88

R. J. F. Boyer (Australia)	ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
Captain R. G. Cavell (Canada)	HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED EXCEPT
Hu Shih (China)	WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE.
Paul Emile Naggiar (France)	
F. H. Visman (Netherlands-Netherlands Indies)	
G. R. Powles (New Zealand)	
Conrado Benitez (Philippines)	
E. Zhukov (U.S.S.R.)	
Sir Andrew McFadyean (United Kingdom)	
Robert G. Sproul (United States)	

The Committee Chairmen are:

P. E. Corbett, Chairman  
R. J. F. Boyer, Chiang Mon-Lin, F. H. Visman, E. Zhukov,  
Vice-Chairmen  
Edward C. Carter, Chairman, Finance  
Grayson Kirk, Chairman, Programme  
Sir George Sansom, Chairman, Research  
J. J. L. Duyvendak, Vice-Chairman, Research

The organization has the following National Councils:

Australian Institute of International Affairs;  
Canadian Institute of International Affairs;  
China Institute of Pacific Relations;  
Comite d'Etudes des Problemes du Pacifique;  
Netherlands-Netherlands Indies Council, Institute of  
Pacific Relations;

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New Zealand Institute of International Affairs;  
Philippine Institute of Pacific Relations;  
Royal Institute of International Affairs;  
U.S.S.R. Council, Institute of Pacific Relations;  
American Council, Institute of Pacific Relations,  
(*PUBLICATION "PACIFIC AFFAIRS"*)

On March 28, 1946, the following persons were elected officers of  
the Institute of Pacific Relations:

Chairman, Robert G. Sproul  
Executive Vice Chairman, Edward C. Carter  
Vice Chairmen, Joseph P. Chamberlain, Mortimer Graves,  
Henry R. Luce, Ray Lyman Wilbur  
Treasurer, Brooks Emeny  
Assistant Treasurer, Tillie G. Shahn  
Secretary, Lawrence Morris

The Executive Committee, which was elected is as follows:

Chairman ex officio, Robert G. Sproul.  
Executive Vice Chairman, Edward C. Carter.  
John Curtis  
Arthur Dean  
Frederick V. Field  
Lawrence Morris  
Harriet Moore  
Donald Straus  
Owen Lattimore

(100-64700-50)

Following the election of the above listed officers, in April, 1946,  
the organization claimed a membership of 1900 individuals.

*See VC*

Edward C. Carter has been associated with the Institute of Pacific  
Relations, for a number of years. He is probably better known, however, as the  
former head of the Russian War Relief in the United States. Carter has traveled  
extensively in China, Japan, and India, and he has made several trips to the  
Soviet Union.

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[REDACTED] An article which appeared in the "New Leader," on November 1,  
1941, reflected that Carter was one of the four members of the Russian War  
Relief Board of Directors who endorsed the Stalin-Hitler pact prior to Germany's  
attack on Russia.

Frederick Vanderbilt Field, who is a member of the Executive Committee  
of the Institute of Pacific Relations, has also been associated with this organi-  
zation for a number of years. Field is an assistant editor of the magazine  
"New Masses", a publication under Communist influence, and he has contributed  
to the "Daily Worker", on Far Eastern affairs. He has also been associated  
with the Jefferson School for Social Science in New York City, which is known  
to be sponsored by Communists.

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Field has also been prominently active in the affairs of numerous Communist front organization, such as, the American Peace Mobilization, the New York Council of American Soviet Friendship, and the Council for Pan American Democracy.

Owen Lattimore, a member of the Executive Committee, was one time a political adviser to Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek. He has also been the editor of "Pacific Affairs" which is the official organ of this organization and has in addition edited a number of publications and books published by the Institute of Pacific Relations. According to a bulletin put out by the Institute of Pacific Relations in April, 1946, three staff members left for Tokyo where they planned to remain for some months working under General MacArthur on a research study of problems on Japanese reconstruction. These three were Miriam Farley, of the American Counsel Staff; Thomas Arthur Bisson and Andrew Gradjanzev, of the staff of the International Secretariat. Miriam Farley has been a member of the Research Committee of the Institute of Pacific Relations for a number of years.

Thomas Arthur Bisson was formerly employed as an economist by the Board of Economic Welfare, Washington, D. C. He was educated at Rutgers and Columbia Universities. From 1924 to 1928 he traveled extensively through China where he was employed as a teacher. From 1928 to 1942, Bisson was a member of the Research Staff of the Foreign Policy Association, in New York City. He has written several books on his travels and numerous magazine articles, three of which appeared in the magazine "Soviet Russia Today." The Lies Committee reports describe Bisson as a sponsor of the American League for Peace and Democracy, a Communist front group. He is also said to be a member of the American Committee for Anti-Nazi Literature, the New York City Conference Against War and Fascism, and the American Committee for Non-Participation in Japanese Aggression, all of which were reported to be Communist infiltrated. He has also served as a member of the editorial board of the magazine, "Amerasia", published by Philip Jaffe and Kate Mitchell, both of whom were arrested in 1945 and charged with conspiracy to steal secret Government documents from various Government Agencies.

Although the Institute of Pacific Relations has had a number of prominent individuals on its Board of Officers, such as, Henry R. Luce, publisher of "Time" and "Life" magazines; Ray Lyman Wilbur; Admiral Henry E. Yarnell; and others, it has been reported that a number of persons active in the affairs of the Communist Party have infiltrated the organization and have become active within the organizational structure of this group. At the present time it is reported that the Institute maintains regional centers in San Francisco, Washington, D. C., Honolulu, Seattle, Milwaukee, eastern Washington, Idaho, and Los Angeles.

Communist Connections

(100-64700-50)

On April 12, 1945, the New York World Telegram, under the headline "Pacific Institute Accused of Communist Ties in Court Action", related that

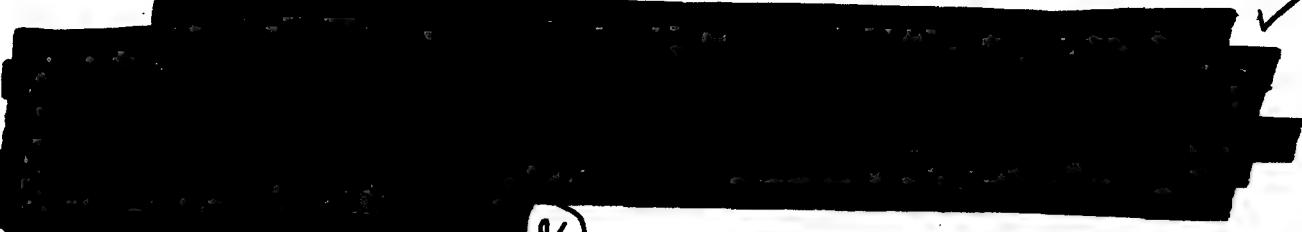
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an action was being brought in the New York Supreme Court by Alfred Kohlberg, importer of 1 West 37th Street, New York City, charging that the Institute of Pacific Relations was being dominated by Communists and demanding that the organization give him a copy of its membership list in order that he might circularize the members. During the hearing Kohlberg offered an eighty-eight page pamphlet to support his charge that the Institute of Pacific Relations was following the Communist lines.

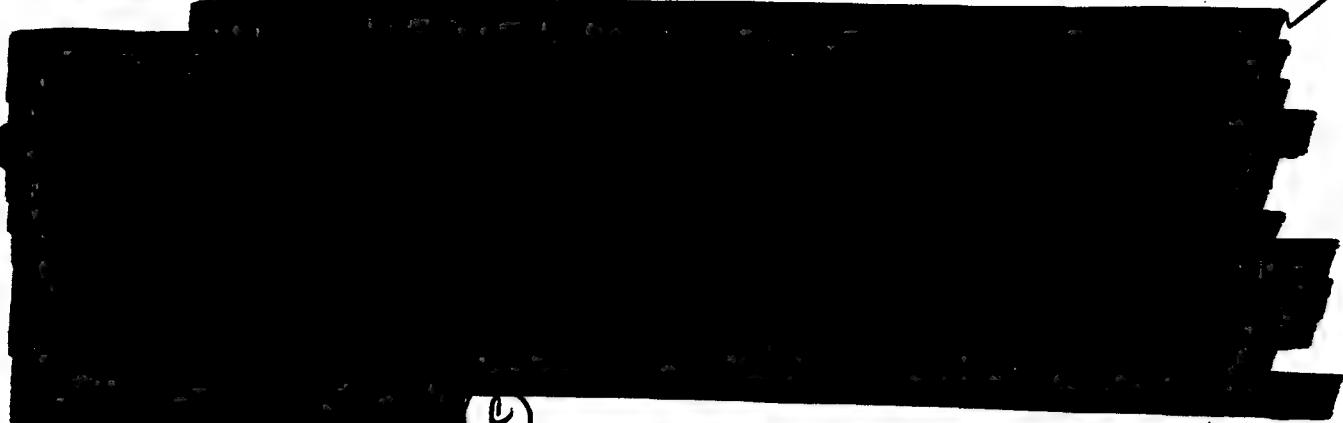
On November 20, 1946, the New York Times carried an article stating that an agreement had been reached before Justice Bernard L. Shientag, which would allow Alfred H. Kohlberg to circularize the membership of the Institute, to support his plan to investigate charges of Communism in the organization. Kohlberg circularized the members and press accounts recently indicated that the members voted against Kohlberg's plan to investigate charges of Communism in the organization, by an overwhelming majority.

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At the time Philip Jacob Jaffe was apprehended by Special Agents on June 6, 1945, he identified various names appearing in his address book. The name of Annie Blumenthal he identified as having formerly worked for the Institute of Pacific Relations. He also identified the name of F. Tanagna, as an Institute of Pacific Relations' employee. Kate Mitchell when apprehended advised that she was the Associate Editor of Amerasia, along with Philip Jaffe. She related that information for publication in Amerasia was obtained from various sources, and that one William L. Holland, an official of the Office of War Information, and a representative of the Institute of Pacific Relations had given her information upon his return from China. She stated that she first went to work for the Institute of Pacific Relations in June of 1933. In January of 1934 she became private secretary to Edward Carter, Secretary General of the Institute of Pacific Relations. She said that she made many trips with Carter to the Far East from 1936 to 1940. She said that she was a research worker for the Institute of Pacific Relations and from 1940 to 1942 worked for the Institute of Pacific Relations on a part-time basis. She further stated that in 1940 she, along with several other employees of the Institute of Pacific Relations, and several persons from the Foreign Political Associates staff became affiliated with Amerasia, and since 1940 she had been associate editor.

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[REDACTED]

With regard to Andrew Roth it should be pointed out that he was also arrested in connection with the Jaffe case and indicted for the same offense as Jaffe.. However, the Department of Justice on February 15, 1946, entered a nolle prosequi in the case against Roth.

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[REDACTED]

(S)

[REDACTED]

b1

[REDACTED]

(c)

[REDACTED]

(c)

[REDACTED]

The above connections have been set out as examples of the close relationship existing between Communists and Communist sympathizers, and members of the Institute of Pacific Relations. The Bureau files reflect that this organization has been under periodic investigation since 1942, due to the fact that a number of persons active in the affairs of Communist movements have managed to infiltrate the organization and become active within it.

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Of particular interest in the Philip Jacob Jaffe case, was the information obtained indicating that restrictive information was in the possession of Thomas Arthur Bisson, specialist on Far Eastern relations, employed by the Institute of Pacific Relations, who was a close contact of Philip Jaffe.

The publication "Plain Talk" has referred to the Communist connections of this organization in the December, 1946 issue, in an article entitled "The Institute of Pacific Relations--Tokyo's Axis", and in the January, 1947, issue in an article entitled "Institute of Pacific Relations--Carter's Pink Pills." (100-64760-57)

~~SECRET~~

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : The Director  
 FROM : D. M. Ladd  
 SUBJECT: INSTITUTE OF PACIFIC RELATIONS  
EAST-WEST ASSOCIATION  
PEARL S. BUCK

DATE: June 17, 1947

Mr. Tolson  
 Mr. E. A. Tamm  
 Mr. Clegg  
 Mr. Glavin  
 Mr. Ladd  
 Mr. Michalis  
 Mr. Rosen  
 Mr. Tracy  
 Mr. Carson  
 Mr. Egan  
 Mr. Gurnea  
 Mr. Harbo  
 Mr. Handon  
 Mr. Pennington  
 Mr. Quinn Tamm  
 Tele. Room  
 Mr. Nease  
 Miss Holmes  
 Miss Gandy

In accordance with your request, there are attached blind memoranda containing information available from public sources with regard to the captioned organizations. No investigation of Pearl Buck has ever been conducted by the Bureau. With regard to the two above organizations, limited inquiry has been conducted.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
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 DATE 3/15/83 BY SPB/CLS

SEARCHED  
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 1 JUL 9 1947

Attachments

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Ex-22  
 Attached & filed  
 in Case Files

31 JUL 10 1947

NHC

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EX-22

Mem for Tolson  
 6/24/47

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DATE 3/15/83 BY SP6B/RCS

June 17, 1947

INSTITUTE OF PACIFIC RELATIONS

- Summary

Background

According to the December, 1946, issue of "Pacific Affairs," which is published quarterly by the Institute of Pacific Relations, 1 East 54th Street, New York, New York, the "Institute of Pacific Relations is an unofficial and non-political organization founded in 1925 to facilitate the scientific study of the peoples of the Pacific area. It is composed of autonomous National Councils in the principal countries having important interests in the Pacific area, together with an International Secretariat. It is privately financed by contributions from National Councils, corporations, and foundations. The Institute, as such, does not advocate policies or doctrines and is precluded from expressing opinions of national or international affairs. It is governed by a Pacific Council composed of members appointed by each of the National Councils." (100-64700-60)

Organizational Setup and Officers

The Pacific Council is made up of the following members:

R. J. F. Boyer (Australia)  
Captain R. G. Cavell (Canada)  
Hu Shih (China)  
Paul Emile Maggiar (France)  
F. H. Visman (Netherlands-Netherlands Indies)  
G. R. Powles (New Zealand)  
Conrado Bonifaz (Philippines)  
E. Zhukov (U.S.S.R.)  
Sir Andrew McFadyean (United Kingdom)  
Robert G. Sproul (United States)

The Committee Chairmen Are:

P. E. Corbett, Chairman  
R. J. F. Boyer, Chiang Man-Lin, F. H. Visman,  
E. Zhukov - Vice-Chairman  
Edward C. Carter, Chairman - Finance  
Grayson Kirk, Chairman - Programme  
Sir George Sansom, Chairman - Research  
J. J. L. Dayvenant, Vice-Chairman - Research

b7C

100-64700-761-

ENCLOSURE

The organization has the following National Councils:

Australian Institute of International Affairs  
Canadian Institute of International Affairs  
China Institute of Pacific Relations  
Comité d'Etudes des Problèmes du Pacifique;  
Netherlands-Netherlands Indies Council, Institute  
of Pacific Relations  
New Zealand Institute of International Affairs  
Philippine Institute of Pacific Relations  
Royal Institute of International Affairs  
U.S.S.R. Council, Institute of Pacific Relations  
American Council, Institute ("Publications on Pacific Affairs")

The following persons were elected officers of the Institute of Public  
Relations on February 12, 1947:

Robert Gordon Sproul, National Chairman - President University of California  
Arthur H. Dean, National Vice Chairman - Sullivan and Cromwell, New York;  
Walter F. Dillingham, National vice chairman - President Hawaiian Dredging  
Company; President Oahu Railway and Land Company  
Donald B. Straus, Treasurer, Management Employee Relations, Inc.  
Edward C. Carter, National Executive Vice Chairman

#### Board of Trustees

Edward W. Allen, Attorney - Allen Freude and Allen, Seattle, Wash.  
Dwight L. Clarke, President - Occidental Life Insurance Company  
John L. Curtis, Assistant Vice President - National City Bank  
Frederick V. Field, Vice President and Treasurer AFCO International  
Inc.; member editorial board "New Masses;"  
Lynn White, Jr., President - Newall's College.

#### Research Advisory Committee

Owen Lattimore, Chairman, Director Walter Niess Page School  
of International Relations, John Hopkins University  
William W. Lockwood, Assistant Director - School of Public and  
International Affairs, Princeton University;  
Ken R. Dyke, Vice President - National Broadcasting Company;  
Huntington Gilchrist, American Cyanamide Company.

#### Education Advisory Committee

Donald Towsbury, Chairman - Professor of Comparative Education,  
Teachers College, Columbia University (100-64700-6)

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Edward C. Carter has been associated with the Institute of Pacific Relations for a number of years. An article which appeared in the "New Leader" on November 1, 1941, reflected that Carter was one of the four members of the Russian War Relief Board of Directors who endorsed the Hitler-Stalin Pact prior to Germany's attack on Russia.

100-44786-26

Frederick Vanderbilt Field, a member of the Board of Trustees of the Institute of Pacific Relations, has also been connected with that group for a number of years. He is the assistant editor of "New Leader," a publication which reportedly follows the Communist Party line, and a regular columnist for the Daily Worker.

(See 50)

The New York World Telegram of April 12, 1946, under the heading "Pacific Institute Accused of Communist Ties in Court Action" reported that an action was being brought in the New York Supreme Court by one Alfred Kohlberg, a New York City importer, charging that the Institute of Pacific Relations was dominated by Communists and demanding that the organization give him a copy of its membership list in order that he might circularize the members. During the hearing Borg offered an eighty-page pamphlet to support his charge that the Institute was following the Communist Party line. The New York Times of November 29, 1946, reported that an agreement had been reached before Justice Bernard L. Shientag, which would allow Kohlberg to circularize the membership of the Institute.

(memo dated May 10, 1947)

The publication "Plain Talk" referred to Communist connections of the Institute of Pacific Relations in its December, 1946, issue in an article entitled "The Institute of Pacific Relations - Tokyo's Tools." In the January, 1947, issue of this publication a similar article entitled "Institute of Pacific Relations - Carter's Pink Pins" appeared.

100-44786-37

# Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

**TO :** MR. TOLSON  
**FROM :** H. H. CLEGG  
**SUBJECT:** SHURA LEWIS

DATE: June 24, 1947

✓  
 Mr. Tolson  
 Mr. E. A.  
 Mr. Clegg  
 Mr. Glavis  
 Mr. Ladd  
 Mr. Nease  
 Mr. Tolson  
 Mr. Tracy  
 Mr. Sargent  
 Mr. Ladd  
 Mr. Barnes  
 Mr. Hendon  
 Mr. Pennington  
 Mr. Quinn-Taylor  
 Tele. Room  
 Mr. Nease  
 Miss Holmes  
 Miss Gandy

In keeping with the provisions of the attached approved memorandum I talked this morning in detail with Congressman Everett Dirksen concerning the background and affiliation and activities of Mrs. Shura Lewis. I also left with him memoranda concerning the Institute of Pacific Relations, the East-West Association and Mrs. Pearl Sydnstricker Buck, copies of which are attached. He expressed his deep appreciation.

He stated that they were inclined to go forward with the investigation even if all they did was to expose Mrs. Lewis for they hoped it would have the salutary effect of alerting the people throughout the country with respect to their school systems and Communist infiltration thereof and with Washington being in the public eye a showing that such a person as Shura Lewis was invited to appear before the Student Body of a high school would within itself have considerable significance. I informed him that this might be as far as they got but that the whole question as to whether they would or would not conduct the investigation was one for him and his committee to decide. We seemed to be inclined toward making the inquiry.

V.H.C.

100-64700-77  
 Attachments

b7C

100-64700-77

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**FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION**  
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b7C

June 12, 1947

MEMORANDUM FOR MR. TOLSON

I furnished a copy of the attached memorandum on Mrs. Emma Lewis to Congressman Dirksen. He was very appreciative. He is having an off-the-agency hearing which will be conducted in the near future on Communism in the schools and he wanted background information on Lewis for this purpose.

b7C

Director's  
notation:  
Yes. H."

He then stated that the No-American Activities Committee has somebody who is a member of the local Communist Party and they have word that she is a Communist.

REFFERED

b7C

In response to Dirksen's inquiry for a suitable agent, I suggested that [redacted] presently with the Appropriations Committee, might be temporarily loaned to him for this purpose. He will look into this. In this connection, he spoke very favorably of [redacted]

We also inquired regarding the East West Association and the Pacific Institute. I told him I thought sure we could furnish him some information along these lines. The East West Association is headed by Pearl Buck and has a lengthy record of left-wing activities. It is suggested that we get up detailed memoranda on the East West Association and Pearl Buck. It is also suggested that a memorandum on the Institute of Pacific Relations be furnished to Dirksen rather than to [redacted]

Director's  
notation:  
Yes. H." b7C

Respectfully,

F. B. I. R. Nichols

71 AUG 28 1947

Attachment

b7C

CR-462

CS-1001 1947

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DATE 3/18/03 BY SP/RC

# FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

FORM NO. 1  
THIS CASE ORIGINATED AT LOS ANGELES

FILE NO. 100-13083

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128  
- 10cc

REPORT MADE AT <b>LOS ANGELES</b>	DATE WHEN MADE <b>10/3/47</b>	PERIOD FOR WHICH MADE <b>8/1, 5, 7, 20 9/15, 19, 20, 23-25/47</b>	REPORT MADE BY <b>b7C</b> [REDACTED]
SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA DIVISION, AMERICAN COUNCIL INSTITUTE OF PACIFIC RELATIONS, aka, "INSTITUTE OF PACIFIC RELATIONS"		CHARACTER OF CASE <b>SECURITY MATTER - C</b>	

SYNOPSIS OF FACTS:

Headquarters removed from offices of Los Angeles Chamber of Commerce and mailing address maintained at 5657 Sunset Blvd., Hollywood, California. SONIA DAHL no longer active and organization apparently dormant here.

REFERENCE:

Report of Special Agent [REDACTED] dated 6-13-47  
at Los Angeles.

DETAILS:

AT LOS ANGELES, CALIFORNIA

DATE **3/5/83** BY **SPOTSO/C**

Investigation has disclosed that this organization no longer maintains its headquarters in the offices of the Los Angeles Chamber of Commerce but that a mailing address is used at the Wilton Apartments and Gardens, Apartment #109, 5657 Sunset Boulevard, Hollywood, California. This is the apartment of MOLLEY SOLOMON, who formerly assisted SONIA DAHL with office detail when headquarters were maintained in the Chamber of Commerce Building.

b7d

[REDACTED]  
she formerly worked for one of the studios, and also at one time was employed answering fan mail for JIMMY MUNROE.  
[REDACTED] she is employed at [REDACTED]

APPROVED AND  
FORWARDED:

*R. B. [initials]*

OPTIONAL FORM NO. 10  
MAY 1940 EDITION  
GSA GEN. REG. NO. 27

DO NOT WRITE IN THESE SPACES

SEARCHED & INDEXED

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- 2 - Los Angeles

51 OCT 21 1947

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100-64700-79  
21 OCT 8 1947

F B I b7C

EX-112

L A 100-13083

b7d

b7c

b7d

It is noted that the position of Secretary  
is that formerly occupied by SONIA DAHL.

Spot checks of the activities of SONIA DAHL reflect no connection  
with the Institute at the present time. She apparently has no outside  
employment, devoting her time to household duties.

CLOSED

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For your information: \_\_\_\_\_  
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100-64700-79 page 3

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SAC - Los Angeles

Director, FBI

INSTITUTE OF PACIFIC RELATIONS  
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

Reference is made to the reports of Special Agents [redacted] at  
Los Angeles, dated June 13, 1947, and October 3, 1947, entitled Southern  
California Division, American Council, Institute of Pacific Relations, also  
known as Institute of Pacific Relations, Security Matter - C.

The Bureau desires to advise your office that the New York Office is  
the office of origin in the case entitled Institute of Pacific Relations, Internal  
Security - C. Copies of the reports submitted by your office on the captioned  
group have been furnished to the New York Office for information purposes. You  
are advised that in the future when reporting on the activities of the captioned  
group to furnish the information to the New York Office as well as to the Bureau.

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COMMUNICATIONS SECTION  
MAILED 1  
OCT 23 1947 PM  
67C 3153 535 BH  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

NOV 8 1947 11

New York

**Director, Par**

**October 22, 1947**

**INSTITUTE OF PACIFIC RELATIONS  
INTERNAL SECURITY - C**

b7C  
Reports of Special Agent [redacted] at Los Angeles, California, dated June 13, 1947 and October 3, 1947, entitled Southern California Division, American Council, Institute of Pacific Relations, also known as Institute of Pacific Relations, Security Matter - C, are being forwarded herewith for your information.

The Los Angeles Office is being advised by separate communication that any further information which comes to their attention concerning the activity of the captioned group should be submitted to your office, as the office of origin in this case, as well as the Bureau.

~~Enclosure~~ ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 3/15/83 BY 625 [Signature]

RECORDED 160-64700-81  
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COMMUNICATIONS SECTION  
MAILED 1  
A OCT 23 1947 P.M.  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

Office Men

AM

• UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : MR. ██████████ b7C  
ADC FROM : MR. ██████████  
SUBJECT: THE INSTITUTE ON PACIFIC RELATIONS

DATE: 11-14-47

of  
b7C  
  
Mr. Tolson  
Mr. E. A. Tamm  
Mr. Clegg  
Mr. Coffey  
Mr. Glavin  
Mr. Ladd  
Mr. Nichols  
Mr. Rosen  
Mr. Tracy  
Mr. Carson  
Mr. Egan  
Mr. Gurnea  
Mr. Hendon  
Mr. Pennington  
Mr. Quinn Team  
Tele. Room  
Mr. Nease  
Miss Seaman  
Miss Gandy

I wish to call to the attention of the Bureau observations made by me at Wilson Teachers College, where I have been a student during the past two years.

In late 1946 there were posted, on the bulletin board at Wilson, various notices regarding "The Institute on Pacific Relations". These notices pertained to meetings, forums, or panel discussions being held by the above mentioned "Institute", at various dates and places in Washington, D.C.

b7C

██████████ appeared to be the most interested party in the activities of this society, suggesting to one of her classes that they attend a dinner being held last fall, (the date escapes my memory) at which some prominent authority on foreign relations was scheduled to speak.

I have not heard the "Institute on Pacific Relations" mentioned at the school during this term, but there appeared on the bulletin board today, (11/14/47) a circular type letter announcing a two day meeting on Russian-American Relations, and sponsored by an organization calling themselves The Institute on International Relations this meeting is to be held at Friends Meeting House 3107 North Charles St., Baltimore, Md. It reports its principal speaker to be Mr. Louis Fischer. The announcement is circulated over the signature-- Alice Barrington, 320 North Charles St., Baltimore, Md.

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DATE 3/6/83 BY SP/SP/CLK

EX-78

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&  
INDEXED

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37 NOV 19 1947

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Mr. [ ]  
 Mr. [ ] Tamm  
 Mr. Clegg  
 Mr. Glavin  
 Mr. Ladd  
 Mr. Nichols  
 Mr. Rosen  
 Mr. Tracy  
 Mr. Carson  
 Mr. Egan  
 Mr. Gurnea  
 Mr. Harbo  
 Mr. Mohr  
 Mr. Pennington  
 Mr. Quinn Tamm  
 Mr. Nease  
 Miss Gandy

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 DATE 3/15/63 BY SP/BS/cls  
 January 13, 1948

MEMORANDUM FOR MR. NICHOLS

RE: INSTITUTE OF PACIFIC RELATIONS;  
EAST AND WEST ASSOCIATION

b7C

Reference is made to the communication from [REDACTED] of December 30, 1947, requesting information concerning captioned organizations.

The Institute of Pacific Relations was founded in 1925 as an unofficial and non-political organization to facilitate the scientific study of the peoples of the Pacific area. The Institute as such does not advocate policies or doctrines and is precluded from expressing opinions on national or international affairs. Frederick Vanderbilt Field, a member of its executive committee, has been associated with it for many years. Field is an assistant editor of "New Masses", a publication of Communist influence, and has contributed to the Daily Worker on Far Eastern affairs. He has also been associated with the Jefferson School for Social Science in New York City, which is known to be sponsored by Communists.

Edward C. Carter has been associated with the Institute for many years. He is probably better known, however, as the former head of the Russian War Relief in the United States.

b7C Other individuals on the board of officers of this organization have been reported active in the affairs of the Communist Party and have infiltrated into the organization and have become active within its organizational structure. (100-64700)

The East and West Association was formed in New York on June 30, 1941, as a nationwide membership association for the stated purpose of promoting better understanding between the people of the Eastern and Western Hemispheres by means of literature, lectures, radio, movies and other methods of publicity. The Association is headed by Pearl S. Buck and has a long record of left-wing activities. (100-250358)

A4  
 INDEXED  
 RESPECTFULLY  
 K. Jones EX-117

100-64700-83  
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55 JAN 31 1948

32 JAN 1948

THIS MEMORANDUM IS FOR ADMINISTRATIVE PURPOSES  
 TO BE DESTROYED AFTER ACTION IS TAKEN AND NOT SENT TO FILES

# Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Director, FBI

FROM : *Ed* SAC, New York

SUBJECT: INSTITUTE OF PACIFIC RELATIONS  
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

DATE: March 29, 1948

Enclosed for the Bureau's files is the March 10, 1948 issue of "Far Eastern Survey." It is noted that on page 64 ELSIE FAIRFAX - CHOLMELEY reviews the book "China Awake."

b7d It is believed that ELSIE FAIRFAX - CHOLMELEY is an employee of the Committee for a Democratic Far Eastern Policy.

On 1/16/48 on the letterhead of the Committee for a Democratic Far Eastern Policy she signed a letter urging attendance at the "National Conference on American Policy in China and the Far East." This is submitted for information purposes.

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Enc. 11

ENCLOSURE UNCLASSIFIED

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18 DECEMBER 1948

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DATE 3/15/93 BY SP6B1a/CIS

ENCLOSURE

000-64700-84

# Far Eastern Survey

AMERICAN INSTITUTE OF PACIFIC RELATIONS

## SINKIANG SURVEY

By Members of the Walter Hines Page School of International Relations, Johns Hopkins University

**S**INKIANG, IN CHINESE CENTRAL ASIA, is part of the focal area where the frontiers of China, the Soviet Union, Afghanistan, India, and Tibet adjoin or approach each other. An important characteristic of this part of the world, long known as the "Heart of Asia," is that political frontiers cut across the distribution of peoples. Groups which are identical or closely akin to each other in language, religion, and other cultural characteristics live next door to each other but under different sovereignties, a circumstance which accentuates comparisons between different economic, political, and social systems and competing propagandas.

Postwar studies in America have emphasized "area studies" but have tended to overlook the importance of mixed zones in which two or more typical areas meet. Inner Asia is conspicuously a subject for "inter-area studies" rather than for "area studies," and Sinkiang exemplifies the problems of subject matter and method that must be dealt with in a study of this kind.

### The "Heart of Asia" and its Peoples

**S**INKIANG is China's westernmost province. It is the largest in area but among the smallest in population. It is also one of the least Chinese in ethnic composition: non-Chinese outnumber Chinese about nineteen to one. The province constitutes an outer frontier zone which is separated from China proper by an inner frontier zone of Mongols, Moslems, and Tibetans. On the other hand it is separated from Soviet Central Asia and the Mongolian People's Republic only by international boundary lines that are non-ethnic, but politically extremely sensitive.

With an area of some 600,000 square miles, ap-

proximately double that of Texas, Sinkiang has a population of only about 3,700,000, about half that of New York City. The province is bisected horizontally by the lofty range of the T'ien Shan. To the south of these mountains lies the Tarim basin and to the north the Jungarian depression. Both are hedged in by the Gobi desert in the east and by mountains on the other three sides. Yet both areas, particularly the Jungarian depression, have served as highways for the exchange of goods and the passage of peoples between the regions to the east and those to the west. Because of this the province is characterized by a striking heterogeneity in population.

The Tarim basin comprises a low desert which at its

MARCH 10, 1948 VOL. XVII NO. 5

### SINKIANG SURVEY

A study of the land and peoples in what has been called the "Heart of Asia," including economic notes on resources and production, problems of policy and administration, and a review of international relations and foreign influences.

This issue of the FAR EASTERN SURVEY has been prepared by members of the Inner Asian seminar of the Walter Hines Page School of International Relations of the Johns Hopkins University. The seminar is working on a group study of Sinkiang, under a grant from the Carnegie Corporation. It is directed by Owen Lattimore and includes the following members: Chih-yi Chang, Ch'en Han-seng, John De Francis, Nobutaka Ike, George M. Kahin, Eleanor Lattimore, Karl Menges, Lorna Morley, Daniel Thorner, and Thomas G. Wiener.

This is the first in a series of issues written and edited by members of the faculties of leading universities concerned with area studies in Far Eastern affairs.

lowest point is actually below sea level. It is fringed on the north, west, and south by high mountain ranges. In the lowland areas the annual rainfall approaches zero. The mountain heights receive more moisture and seasonal melting of the upland snows and glaciers sends streams pouring down into the central desert, the soil of which is suited to cultivation if given sufficient water. As a result the edge of the desert along the foot of the mountains is dotted by a series of oases which together form a "U" with the open end toward the east.

The oases vary in size according to the amount of water that can be diverted for agricultural purposes before the rivers lose themselves in the desert. They are connected, like beads on a string, by two arterial roads, one skirting the lower side of the T'ien Shan, the other the northern edge of the Tibetan plateau. Both converge in the west at the city of Kashgar. The second of these roads was the one travelled by Marco Polo on his journey to Cathay; it is the more difficult and hence the less favored of the two. The T'ien Shan road is especially important because it connects with Jungaria in the north and Kansu in the east.

### Major Population Groups

About three quarters of the population of Sinkiang lives in the oases of the Tarim basin and most of it is concentrated in the west. About ninety-five percent of this southern oasis population is a non-Chinese people that has evolved historically by the merging of an indigenous population with successive waves of invaders. Some of the ancient inhabitants of the area spoke an Iranian tongue and others a non-Iranian Indo-European language. After many centuries of war and invasion, they were conquered in the ninth century A.D. by the Uighurs, a Turkic people from northern Mongolia, and were subsequently converted to Islam by missionaries from the west. The majority of the present population, to whom the name of Uighurs has recently been re-applied, while classified as Chinese citizens or subjects are actually Turkic in speech and Moslem in religion.

Though the Uighurs have now acquired an ethnic uniformity, they have not yet achieved political unity. Local loyalties delay the emergence of a "national" Uighur loyalty, for each oasis community is virtually self-contained in its economic life and is separated from other, similar communities by stretches of forbidding desert. The growth of political cohesion among the Uighurs is further impeded by the lack of a modern middle class and by the predominance of an antiquated agrarian order. Economic and social changes are taking place, however, and nationalistic feeling has begun to manifest itself.

The people next in numerical importance to the

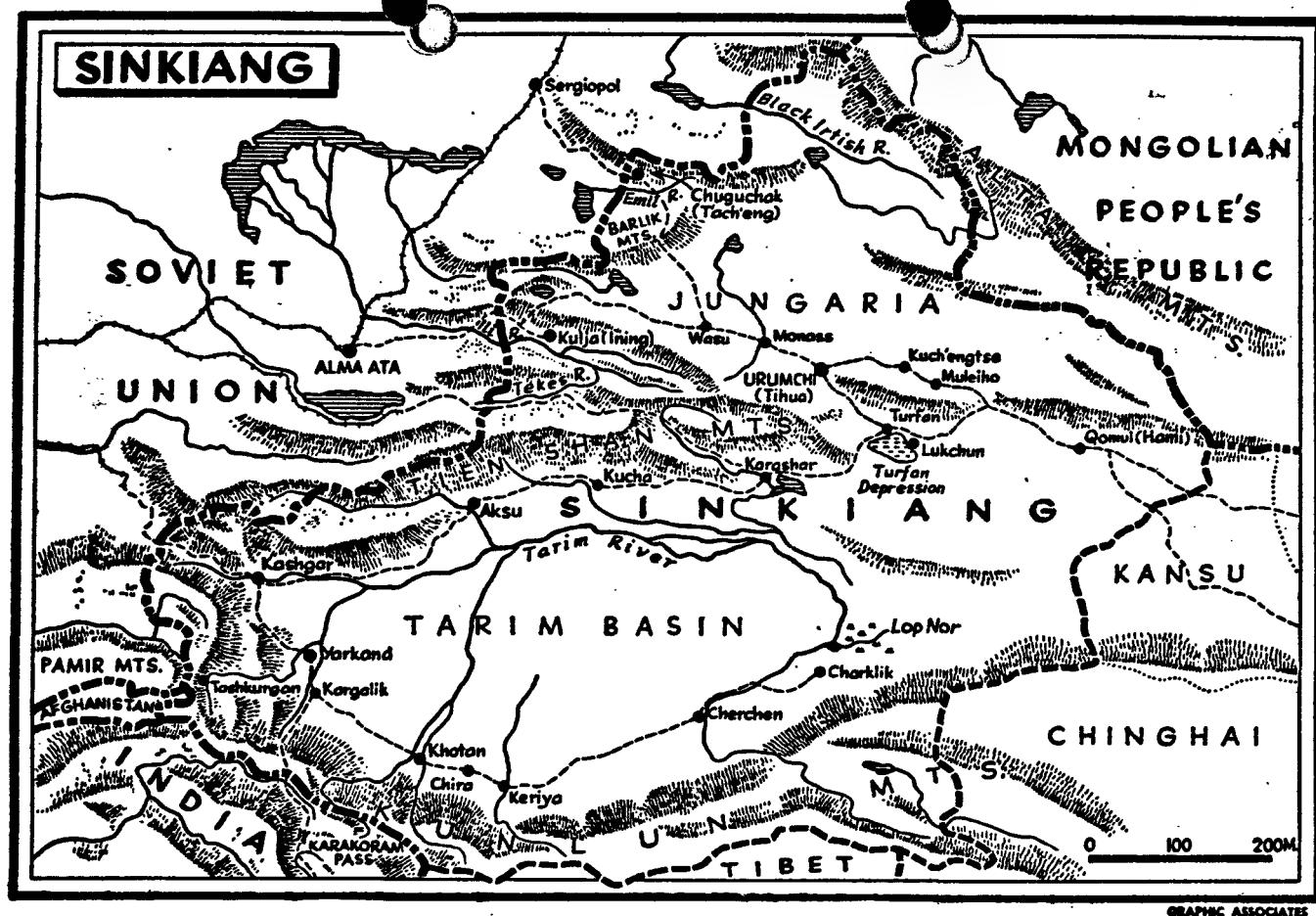
Uighurs in southern Sinkiang are the Kirghiz. They number only about 65,000, however, in contrast to the approximately 2,700,000 Uighurs in the Tarim basin. Like the Uighurs, to whom they are ethnically related, the Kirghiz are Turkic in speech and Moslem in religion. But unlike their sedentary lowland neighbors, the Kirghiz are a nomadic people who live for the most part in the mountain fringes of the Tarim. Most of them inhabit the ranges to the west along the Sinkiang-Soviet frontier, where they often form the majority of the local population. They belong to the same national group as the Kirghiz in the neighboring Kirghiz Soviet Socialist Republic. Like other nomadic peoples along the frontiers of Sinkiang, the Kirghiz tend to ignore international boundaries unless coerced by higher authority. Their custom is to migrate between winter and summer pastures, which may be on different sides of the international frontier. In time of unrest or war, they easily revert to migration on a large scale. Thus, during the Civil War in Russia and after the establishment of the Soviet regime in Central Asia, groups of anti-Soviet Kirghiz crossed the frontier into Sinkiang. Subsequently groups of nomads passed into Soviet territory, attracted by the autonomy granted to the Central Asian nationalities by the Soviet regime.

Interposed among the Kirghiz in the southwest corner of Sinkiang are the Tajiks, a remnant of the indigenous Iranian population of the province. They are a sedentary people who form the majority of the population in the Tashkurgan district. They speak an Iranian tongue, adhere to the Ismaili sect of the Moslem faith, which acknowledges the Agha Khan in India as its head, and belong to the same national group as the Tajiks in the adjacent Tajik Soviet Socialist Republic.

### River Valleys to the North

Even more than the Tarim Basin and its mountainous rim, the regions which make up the rest of the province are characterized by a high degree of ethnic and geographic diversity. On the whole these regions are less arid than those to the south. On the slopes of the Altai to the north, the T'ien Shan to the south, and the miscellaneous ranges to the west, the moisture is sufficient to create excellent grazing lands. In addition to irrigated agriculture there is even some dry farming, particularly in the river valleys along the Soviet frontier.

Along this frontier, which rarely follows the watershed, three important rivers have their source in Sinkiang and their main course in Soviet territory. They are the Black Irtish, the only Sinkiang river whose waters reach the sea; and the Ili and the Emel, which are routes of communication between Soviet and Chinese territory.



The broad and fertile Ili valley is enclosed between two arms of the T'ien Shan which open toward the west into Soviet territory. It thus forms a distinct region which has closer geographic ties with Soviet territory than with Sinkiang itself. Its forests, mines, rich mountain pastures, and fertile arable lands offer the best prospects for economic development north of the Tarim basin. At present, however, the valley supports an agricultural and nomadic population of less than half a million.

The Ili valley has never enjoyed a sufficiently long period of peace and sound administration to permit exploitation of its resources. It has been fought over during the successive waves of migration and was largely depopulated in the 18th century. The present population of the area is exceedingly mixed. The largest single group, forty-three percent of the total, consists of Kazakhs. These are a generally nomadic people of Turkic speech and Moslem religion, related to the Uighurs and Kirghiz and belonging to the same ethnic group as the Kazakhs in the neighboring Kazakhstan Soviet Socialist Republic.

Kulja or Ining, the main city in the Ili valley, contains several thousand Chinese and White Russians.

Other inhabitants of the area include settled Manchus, Taranchi, and Dungans. The Manchus are survivors of imperial garrisons which managed to survive the massacres following the 1911 Revolution because they had taken to the land. The Taranchi, whose name means "cultivators," are Uighurs whose forebears immigrated from the Tarim basin. The Dungans are Chinese-speaking Moslems of mixed Turkic and Chinese stock. In addition to these sedentary groups there are a number of nomadic Mongols.

The Emil valley, which contains the important frontier town of Chuguchak or T'ach'eng, is a kind of small-scale Ili. Its chief population groups comprise Kazakhs, Manchus, Taranchi, Dungans, and Mongols.

Heterogeneity likewise characterizes the oases strung into an east-west line along the northern foothills of the T'ien Shan. These population islands are not as densely inhabited as those in the Tarim basin, but neither are the intervening areas of thin grassland as difficult of passage as the desert areas farther south. They are often inhabited by mixed groups of Uighurs, Dungans, and Chinese, with occasional further admixtures of Kazakhs, Mongols, and other peoples.

Apart from the oases north of the T'ien Shan and

the river valleys in the west, the rest of northern Sinkiang is inhabited, if at all, only by nomadic herdsmen like the Kazakhs and the Mongols. The former are scattered mainly along the length of the Soviet-Sinkiang frontier as far north as the Altai and as far south as the T'ien Shan. The Mongols are also widely dispersed over the northern section of Sinkiang. A few of them have even pushed across the T'ien Shan in the region of Karashar. The most important Mongol group, however, is that which inhabits the Altai region in the north.

The traditional pasture lands of some of the Western Mongols and some of the Eastern Kazakhs straddle the frontier between Sinkiang and the Mongolian People's Republic. As the frontier is not clearly demarcated, it frequently happens that a Mongol or Kazakh group customarily uses summer pastures in territory claimed by Mongolia and winter pastures in territory claimed by China as part of Sinkiang, thereby accentuating frontier disputes.

Within the ethnic diversity of Sinkiang, the Uighurs constitute eighty percent of the total population. On the other hand the Kazakhs, who comprise only about nine percent, are politically the most assertive, especially in the Ili and Altai regions. All the remaining groups together constitute a mere eleven percent of the total. According to a survey taken in 1940-41 by the Sinkiang provincial government, the population of 3,700,000 is made up as follows:

POPULATION	COMPOSITION OF SINKIANG, 1940-41
Uighurs	2,900,000
Kazakhs	319,000
Chinese	202,000
Dungans	92,000
Kirghiz	65,000
Mongols	63,000
White Russians	13,000
Manchus	12,000
Tajiks	9,000
Taranchi	5,000

Thus the Chinese in Sinkiang constitute no more than five percent of a population that is between ninety and ninety-five percent Turkic in language, Moslem in religion, and non-Chinese in ethnic composition. Yet the concentration of Chinese in key oases along the main road connecting Sinkiang with China proper provides powerful support for their commanding position in the province. They are most densely congregated, together with their strongest garrison forces, in Urumchi (Tihua), the capital city. Two-thirds of all the Chinese in the province are concentrated (and isolated) there, forming thirty-six percent of the population.

Urumchi is situated in the center of the vital east-west highway through the Jungarian Basin. It also commands the best traverse from northern Sinkiang across the T'ien Shan to the rich oases of southern Sinkiang. By holding this city the Chinese control not only the administrative center of the province but also its strategic key point.

## PROBLEMS OF POLICY AND ADMINISTRATION

AS AN ECHO of the T'ai-p'ing Rebellion in the middle of the nineteenth century, Moslem revolts spread throughout northwestern China. In Sinkiang, rebellion involved reversion to a primitive stage of feudalism. Power was seized locally by families which were already influential, or by adventurers like Yakub Beg. The social order was quickly regrouped in feudal pyramids, with a military strong man at the top and the key positions under him held either by his relatives or by men whose relationship to him was one of personal military loyalty.

These revolts were suppressed by Tso Tsung-t'ang, one of the loyal Chinese officials of the Manchu Empire. When Sinkiang had been reconquered, Tso Tsung-t'ang advocated that it be administered indirectly, as a group of tributary territories, each under its own local ruler. The recommendation was disapproved by the Imperial Court, which adopted the standard of direct provincial administration on the suggestion of one of Tso's subordinates. Thus it was that Sinkiang (*Hsin-chiang*, New Frontier) became a province of China in 1882. Sinkiang's administrative history is colored by a pe-

culiar Chinese blend of bureaucracy and feudalism. The province was dominated by the families of civilian and military officials who had accompanied Tso Tsung-t'ang, while an important part in trade was played by merchant families from Tientsin whose ancestors had also accompanied his armies.

In 1911 the provincial administration was taken over almost intact by Yang Tseng-hsin, a member of the administration, who ruled as a frontier warlord. As Governor, he was in fact self-appointed, his "appointment" by the National Government merely a tactful recognition of that fact.

Yang Tseng-hsin, a native of Yunnan, was murdered in 1928. He was succeeded by a subordinate, Chin Shu-jen, native of Kansu, whose "appointment" was automatically regularized by the National Government. Moslem insurrections began in 1932. Chin Shu-jen fled. He was succeeded by Sheng Shih-ts'ai, a native of Liaoning, Manchuria, who had originally reached the province as a military advisor recommended by the National Government. He had had no real power until

he seized it in time of trouble. His accession marked the passage of power from the hands of the old, entrenched bureaucratic families, but did not mean the penetration of National Government authority into Sinkiang, since the Government had not sent him to assume authority on its behalf, but merely recognized him when he had assumed authority for himself.

In 1944, after troubles within the province and complicated negotiations, Sheng resigned as Governor and returned to China. He was succeeded by Wu Chung-hsin, the first Governor ("Chairman") of Sinkiang since 1911 ever actually appointed and sent by the National Government. After further internal troubles, Wu was succeeded by General Chang Chih-chung—in 1945 as the personal representative of the Generalissimo and in 1946 as Governor ("Chairman") of the province. In 1947 he was replaced as governor by Masud Sabri, an Uighur native of the province but a protégé and appointee of the C. C. Clique in the Kuomintang. General Chang continued as representative of the Generalissimo's Northwest Headquarters.

### Internal Chinese Administration

The history of Chinese administration in Sinkiang has two aspects: internal and external.

Internally, Chinese administration involved drastic interference with native traditions. The society of the Uighurs, the major agricultural group, was dominated by a petty gentry or nobility. (Neither term corresponds exactly to Western usage.) These families, which may be described as "dominant," rather than "ruling," but which included two old "ruling" families in Qomul (Hami) and Lukchun, owned land outright but also had traditional rights to tribute, personal services, and corvee labor exacted from people whose land the dominant families did not claim to "own."

As in the case of the British in India the Chinese, when they imposed a new system of land taxes, based on new surveys and the registration of deeds of individual ownership, brought about a new stratification of property and of social classes. The transformation was not simultaneous all over the province, nor was it equally complete in all districts, but the result was in general a doubling of the burden of tax and tribute. The land tax demanded by the Chinese bureaucracy was farmed out to native *begs* (the "nobility," or "gentry,"), who in addition managed to continue to exact traditional tribute, services, and corvee labor.<sup>1</sup>

1 A Swiss traveller 20 years ago observed that "the people were plundered in order that their rulers might grow rich. . . . the *begs* were far too content with their present position. . . . So long as they kept the Chinese well supplied with money and did not bother them, no question was asked." W. Bosshard, "Politics and Trade in Central Asia," *Journal of the Central Asian Society*, London, 1929, Vol. 16, pt. 4, pp. 437-438.

In trade, Chinese merchants and bureaucrats accumulated wealth in the form that has come to be called "bureaucratic capital" in China proper. The official, abandoning to some extent the traditional practice of "squeeze" by collecting more than the legal taxes, turned instead to the profits of trade. By extending his protection to a merchant, the official could relieve him of the burden of taxes and imposts. The protected merchant, shielded from the competition of unprotected merchants, could buy at a minimum and sell at maximum profit. As a further step, officials set up enterprises nominally belonging to the provincial government, the profits of which were actually drawn off by themselves and their merchant partners. Since these methods reduce the bargaining power of the original producer, who cannot sell to competitive bidders, they favor exports against imports and drain wealth from the territory affected.

Such practices tend to combine economic monopoly with nepotism. Yang Tseng-hsin, though in comparison with his successors regarded as a shrewd man who collected golden eggs without killing the goose, posted his relatives all over the province. Chin Shu-jen, his successor, appointed his two brothers to the highest military posts and put his valet in command of a regiment. Nepotism implemented monopolies in such valuable exports as furs, wool, gold, and jade. In the 1920s, fifty-one percent of trade capital in Urumchi (Tihua) was in the possession of Chinese officials, thirty-seven percent in the hands of agent-merchants, and only twelve percent in the hands of wealthy natives.<sup>2</sup>

Another feature of Chinese administration has been its heavy reliance on promoting conflicts of interest, in order to prevent unity of the ruled against the rulers. In four regions there were four different currencies, a device which prevented concentration of remittances for political purposes. At different periods Turkish-speaking Moslems were favored against Chinese-speaking Moslems, or Mongol nomads against Kazakh nomads; and such favoritism was reversed when it seemed expedient. Even the partnership between Chinese officials and Chinese merchants was subject to check; because Tientsin merchants dominated the export trade, Tientsin men were not appointed to high official posts.

### Foreign Policy

Until 1944 external policy was characterized by two closely related working principles. In the first place, Russia was treated simply as Russia, regardless of internal differences between Tsarism and Bolshevism. In the second place, the National Government was treated

2 Figures from M. Nemchenko, "The Colonial Regime and Agrarian Relations in Sinkiang," *Problemi Kitaya*, Moscow, 1931, Nos. 8-9 (3-4), p. 181. (In Russian.)

almost as if, like Russia, it were a foreign power. Pleasant political relations and profitable trade relations were kept up in both directions, but without allowing political or military penetration from either side; while trade in both directions prevented economic control from either direction. In pursuance of these principles Yang Tseng-hsin, an exceptionally cautious and conservative man, refused to join the *cordon sanitaire* around Russia. Anti-revolutionary Russian troops who retreated into Sinkiang were not allowed to use it as a base, but were disarmed and passed on through the province into China. Conversely, when the Chinese General Feng Yu-hsiang was on good terms with Russia, he was forced to receive his supplies from Russia through Mongolia, being refused the right of transit through Sinkiang.

The long-maintained status quo began to break down in 1932. The Governor, Chin Shu-jen, more rapacious and less able than his predecessor Yang Tseng-hsin, tried to increase his revenues by increasing the land tax, which led to a revolt in Qomul, the largest eastern oasis. This revolt encouraged an invasion of the province by Ma Chung-ying, a young Chinese Moslem adventurer from Kansu whose political ideas did not go beyond military aggrandisement and hatred for infidel Chinese, but who was accompanied by Japanese advisors (the degree of whose real influence has never been determined). Rebellion against the Chinese bureaucracy combined with warfare between Turkish-speaking and Chinese-speaking Moslems, the raiding of settled communities by nomads, and clashes which occurred between Turkish-speaking nomads and Mongols.

Out of this confusion Sheng Shih-ts'ai emerged to power, as already described, with the aid of Russian arms, planes, and troops. Subsequent events indicated that the Russian policy was to re-establish a stable Chinese regime, not to set up native regimes in place of the Chinese regime or to rule through a controlled Chinese agent.

### Rule of Sheng Shih-ts'ai

As an administrator, Sheng Shih-ts'ai was both shrewd and crude. In the first phase of his rule the war-time paralysis of China prevented him from following the traditional policy of balancing trade with China against trade with Russia. Being already so strongly beholden to Russia, however, he needed some basis of support other than Russia. He sought this basis in improved relations between the native peoples and his administration. A considerable degree of native self-organization and representation was allowed. To increase their ability to exercise the rights conceded to them, young men and women were sent to Russia for technological as well as administrative training. Education within the

province was increased. Economic advancement included the development of an oil-field and refinery, operated by Russians.

A second phase began in the period when the Russians were hard-pressed at Stalingrad. Many Chinese assumed at this time that Russia would either collapse or be permanently crippled. On this assumption Sheng Shih-ts'ai attempted to readjust his relations with China; but he did not reinsure his political position by making allowance for the contingency that Russia might remain strong enough to relieve him of the necessity for complete dependence on China. In order to ingratiate himself quickly and thoroughly with the Chinese National Government, which he had previously treated almost as a foreign power, he suddenly reversed all his liberal policies. Wholesale arrests were made, including both Chinese and natives who had been on friendly terms with Russians. The new cordiality between Chinese and natives was obliterated. The Russians made no attempt to protect or support any group within the province. Instead, in 1943 they withdrew all technological and other advisors and stripped such installations as the oil fields and refineries.

### Loss of Provincial Autonomy

Sheng Shih-ts'ai thus destroyed the traditional careful balance in Sinkiang policies. Having deprived himself of economic or any other support from the Russian side, of the kind which had been considered essential by his conservative predecessors, and having deprived himself of the new kind of support from the non-Chinese population, which he himself had built up to a previously unknown degree, he faced without support what Sinkiang administrators had traditionally regarded as the "third danger"—the ability of the Central Government to override the autonomy of the provincial regime. To this danger he succumbed in spite of a desperate last-minute bid for protection from Russia, in which, it is reported, he jailed 200 officials from Chungking and "asked Generalissimo Stalin to incorporate Sinkiang into the Soviet Union," in August, 1944.<sup>3</sup> The Chinese Central Government, true to its principle of giving internal consolidation a priority over the war front against Japan, then detached troops with good equipment, including American trucks and planes which were in desperate shortage, and took over the province. Sheng was "shoe-horned" out of power and deposited in the Ministry of Agriculture and Forestry, traditionally a powerless post for an official not quite in open disgrace.

The National Government then appointed to Sinkiang Wu Chung-hsin, long associated with the Com-

<sup>3</sup> Christopher Rand, despatch from Sinkiang in *New York Herald Tribune*, September 23, 1947. The despatch added that Generalissimo Stalin "refused."

mission for Mongolian and Tibetan affairs and sympathetic to the policy of high pressure absorption of non-Chinese frontier nationalities into the Chinese majority advocated by the C. C. Clique within the Kuomintang. Features of this policy are deliberate neglect of education in non-Chinese languages and other measures for denationalizing the non-Chinese peoples.

It did not take long for administration in this spirit to generate revolt. A new leadership for revolt was now at hand. Men, and a few women, who had seen self-government at work in the Soviet Republics of Central Asia and who had had some experience of administration during the brief period of relative progressivism under Sheng Shih-ts'ai, were unwilling to submit to the suppression of nationalism. Resistance to the CC policies had its main geographical center in the Ili valley and drew a great part of its fighting strength from the Kazakh tribes of the Ili valley and the Altai region.

Resistance was formidable enough to force the recall of Wu Chung-hsin and his replacement by Chang Chih-chung, a representative of the Political Science clique, rivals of the CC clique in the Kuomintang. Under Chang Chih-chung the Chinese administration succeeded, by compromise and conciliation, alternating with the careful application of force only under conditions that made sure of success, in terminating armed resistance almost everywhere except in the Ili valley. The Kazakhs of the Altai, under Usman, a nationalist leader who is anti-Russian as well as anti-Chinese, broke off relations for the time being at least with the Ili nationalists.

The Ili resistance is now known as the "Eastern Turkistan Republic" movement. Discussion of the details of this movement must await the analysis of materials in Uighur and other languages which are now being translated and analysed. In general, it can be said that on the one hand the movement in Ili, sympathetic

to Russia and geographically in contact with Russia, resembles the movement for autonomy in Azerbaijan which was crushed in 1947. On the other hand, relations between the Chinese administration and the Ili nationalists resemble relations between the French and Viet Nam and between the Dutch and the Indonesian Republic. In all three cases there has been a negotiated agreement on general principles, followed by a deadlock in the stage of implementation, followed by efforts of the colonial rulers to set up native figureheads who would look like nationalists but behave like docile subjects. In Sinkiang, the native figurehead is Masud Sabri, who as an Uighur is supposed to represent nationalism, but as a wealthy landlord is considered immune to Russian sympathies and therefore acceptable to the Chinese authorities. The issue over which the Chinese authorities and the Ili nationalists are deadlocked is the issue of representation. The Chinese maintain that the natives are "represented" if the Chinese appoint a native as governor. The nationalists refuse to consider themselves "represented" until they themselves elect the representative.

This major issue is complicated on the nationalist side by cleavage between radical democrats, friendly to Russia, and conservatives who are afraid of Russia and lean toward a Moslem authoritarianism. Some Chinese advocate developing a Sinkiang "Pakistan" grouped around the most conservative Uighur and Kazakh leaders. On the Chinese side the issue is complicated by rivalry between the CC clique, which favors direct repression, and the Political Science group, which favors negotiation and caution. The balance of power is held by Sung Hsi-lien, commander of the Chinese garrison of 100,000, who has been quoted as saying that "If our first enemy is the Ili (Kulja; also referred to in the press as Ining) party, our second is the nationalist group. The nationalists had better forget their slogan 'Turkistan first' or there will be trouble."<sup>4</sup>

## INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

SINKIANG ENTERED modern international relations a little less than one hundred years ago at a time when Britain, moving westward and northward through India, approached forces of the Tsar, spreading eastward and southward from Siberia. Tsarist officers admittedly wanted to draw near Britain's most sensitive frontier, India. Thereby they would be able, in future periods of tension, to frighten Britain, pin down British troops in India, and distract British attention from the Black Sea, the area of greatest importance to Russia. Between 1865 and 1876 Russia overran in rapid suc-

cession the Central Asian khanates of Tashkent, Bukhara, Samarkand, Khiva, and Khokand.

Tsarist officers also sought to utilize for their purposes the intense anti-British feeling which had developed at the Imperial Court in Peking as a result of the three Anglo-Chinese wars between 1839 and 1860. The Russian Consul in Ili went so far as to suggest in 1860 to the local military governor that China revenge itself on Britain by attacking India through

<sup>4</sup> Reported by Frank Robertson, *New York Times*, February 1, 1948.

Yunnan and Tibet. The Imperial Court, pointing out that Russia was not a disinterested party, rejected the suggestion. That same year Russia extracted from Peking the right to station a consul in Kashgar (a similar right having been obtained for Ili in 1851).

Active British concern with Sinkiang followed the conquest of the Punjab in the Sikh Wars of the 1840s. The British believed that their new position in northern India would put them "in possession of the key to the whole commerce of Central Asia."

They noted with anxiety the spread of Russian power north of the mountains. The view which prevailed in the 1860s, however, was that the wisest policy was one of watchful waiting. The British were then debating the much larger question of their entire policy towards the Manchu Empire. The Manchus were struggling with the immense T'aip'ing rebellion in south and central China and Moslem revolts throughout the northwest. If these succeeded, the British finally decided, the position of foreign powers and foreign trade would deteriorate. The British therefore switched over to support of the Manchus, to whom in the years after 1865 British banks extended more than a dozen loans. These helped finance the pacification force which the Manchus sent to regain control of China's northwestern provinces, including Sinkiang. The future of Sinkiang was too important to the British in India for them to rely solely upon the slow and uneven progress of Manchu arms. They therefore threw their support in the 1870s to the strongest of the Sinkiang rebels against the Manchus, the outstanding figure of nineteenth century Central Asia, Yakub Beg.

### Rise of Yakub Beg

Yakub Beg first appeared in Sinkiang shortly after 1860, in connection with an effort to reestablish Khoja power. The Khojas had been hereditary Moslem potentates in the various Sinkiang oases from the fifteenth until the seventeenth century, when they lost control first to the Mongols and then to the Manchus. When Manchu power in Sinkiang was upset by the Moslem uprisings of the 1860s, a descendant of the Kashgar Khojas sought to regain power and by 1865 had taken over Kashgar and Yarkand. His chief of staff was Yakub Beg, who had fought against the Russians in Khokand. He soon displaced the Khoja prince and reconquered Sinkiang as far north as Urumchi.

Soon after his establishment in power, Yakub Beg tried to buttress himself against the Manchus by securing recognition as an independent sovereign from his two powerful neighbors, British India and Russia. The British response was much warmer than the Russian, for just at this time the British were encouraging a common Islamic front against Russia, with the Sultan

of Turkey at the head. When an envoy from Yakub Beg appeared in India in 1869 he was cordially received. A well-staffed British mission under Douglas Forsyth, a high Government of India official, crossed over the Karakoram Pass to Kashgar and in 1874 signed a treaty with Yakub Beg which threw Sinkiang open to trade with India and provided for the exchange of ambassadors. The Forsyth Mission reported that Yakub Beg was securely entrenched in power; British strategists began to look forward to setting up a protectorate over Sinkiang; arms flowed from India to Yakub Beg; and in 1876 the Government of India formally ratified the Treaty of 1874. One year later Yakub Beg was dead and his power shattered.

### Relations with Russia

The Russians always regarded Yakub Beg coldly. Having extracted many concessions from the Manchus they had no desire to alienate Peking. They also felt that Yakub Beg might rally Moslem hostility against Russia. Throughout the period of Yakub Beg's hegemony the Russians carefully safeguarded their basic strategic and commercial interests in Sinkiang. Strategically, their chief interest was the Ili River valley, one of the ancient inland highways to China, which a titled Russian historian has termed as important to Russia as the Khyber Pass was to the British in India. When Yakub Beg moved westward toward Ili in 1870, the apprehensive Russians occupied Kulja and the Ili valley. In 1872 they obtained from Yakub Beg a favorable commercial arrangement, thus preceding the British by almost two years. In 1876 they peremptorily demanded and speedily received strategic posts in the mountains west of Kashgar. About the same time they gave grain supplies to the Manchu pacification force which in 1877 moved slowly into Sinkiang. Before a decisive battle was joined, Yakub Beg took poison and died. In the ensuing confusion Manchu dominion was quickly reasserted over the entire province, except for Russian-held Ili.

The Russians were in no hurry to return Ili. A draft treaty of 1879 between Russia and a Manchu envoy gave Russia the western part of the Ili area, the fertile Tekes River valley and strategic passes, improved commercial access to China through Sinkiang and Mongolia, and an indemnity to defray the costs of occupying Ili. The provisions of this treaty were violently denounced in Peking and for a time it looked as if the Manchus would rather fight than accept them. It is noteworthy that British advice made the Manchus realize that war would mean the fall of the dynasty. Reluctantly a Manchu envoy signed at St. Petersburg in 1881 a treaty almost identical with that of 1879.

In addition to their general disappointment over the outcome of the Yakub Beg affair, the British in India

were deeply disturbed by military intelligence received from the Forsyth Mission which reported, after exploring the passes between Russian Turkistan and Kashmir, that troops and wheeled artillery could cross the mountains with relative ease. More thorough reconnaissance in the 1880s demonstrated that no significant military force from Central Asia could approach India by way of Kashmir. British apprehension diminished and mutually satisfactory relations with Russia about the area became possible. Britain in practice acknowledged the special interest of Russia in the Ili region of Sinkiang, while Russia accepted British concern with Kashgar. A British consulate, which was presently established in Kashgar, served as one of Britain's chief listening posts in Central Asia.

From the 1880s, Britain and Russia, both heavily occupied with more serious rivalries in other parts of the world, tacitly agreed to let Sinkiang remain a backward neutral zone. This policy proved so successful that in the comprehensive Anglo-Russian diplomatic "Convention" of 1907, Sinkiang was not so much as mentioned. Right down to the Russian Revolution of 1917 Sinkiang never regained the international importance it had had in the exciting days of Yakub Beg.

### Cordon Sanitaire Fails

With the appearance of Soviet power in Russia in 1917, international concern with Sinkiang grew appreciably. The British feared that Soviet ideas might spread southward and affect restless India, where nationalism had been developing rapidly. For their part the Soviets wished to win as allies the anti-imperialist movements of India, China, and the rest of Asia. In 1918 a group of resourceful British officials was sent from India via Kashgar to Tashkent, the headquarters of Russian Central Asia. Among other things the mission endeavored to assess the strength and weakness of Soviet power in Central Asia. This was an early phase of the *cordon sanitaire* policy later espoused so vigorously by the British Foreign Secretary, Lord Curzon, who at the opening of the twentieth century had served as Viceroy of India. The experienced Chinese Governor of Sinkiang, however, refused to throw his weight behind either side. When the *cordon sanitaire* policy failed, British influence in Sinkiang fell with it, and for the last two decades has been of secondary importance.

Soviet relations with Sinkiang became much closer after 1924, when a trade treaty was negotiated. The Chinese Governor desired it in order to buttress his economic power. This was the period of Kuomintang-Soviet cooperation between 1924 and 1927. At the same time the building of the Turk-Sib railway helped tighten the economic relations between the USSR and Sinkiang. The assassination of Governor Yang in 1928—after the split between the Kuomintang and the Soviets,

and the outbreak of civil war between the Kuomintang and the Chinese Communists—created an opportunity for Kuomintang influence to penetrate Sinkiang. Up to this time the attitude of the provincial authorities toward the Kuomintang had been extremely cautious and Kuomintang organizers, as well as Communist sympathizers, had been kept out.

### Japanese Push Toward Sinkiang

From the early years of the twentieth century the Japanese had shown interest in Central Asia. Their alliance with England in 1902 made them watch-dogs of the British against Russia; when that treaty was renewed in 1905, at the close of the Russo-Japanese War, a new provision was added whereby the two parties guaranteed each other's "special interests," not only in the Far East, but in the region of India as well. After the war of 1914-18 American pressure resulted in the abrogation of the Anglo-Japanese alliance. As British influence in Sinkiang weakened that of their former partner showed signs of rising. Like the British in the last quarter of the nineteenth century, the Japanese proclaimed their desire to serve as the protectors of Islam against Russia. They made sustained efforts to cultivate friendly relations among all of Russia's southern neighbors from Turkey through Persia and Sinkiang. After the puppet state of "Manchukuo" was created, the Japanese began to extend their continental empire westward through Inner Mongolia toward Sinkiang. Japanese arms and other aid helped the meteoric rise of the Chinese Moslem General Ma Chung-ying in his rebellion against the Chinese administration and his invasion of Sinkiang from Northwest China. The decisive force in ending General Ma's career and in blocking Japanese expansion westward was furnished by Soviet aid to the Chinese administration in Sinkiang headed by Sheng Shih-ts'ai.

The establishment of Sheng's regime, so clearly beholden to the Soviet Union, led some British observers hastily to describe Sheng as a Soviet puppet. Sensational reports of the Soviet menace to India gained fresh currency. A number of writers commented about this time upon British interest in detaching the area around Kashgar from Sinkiang and forming it into a separate state to be called *Islamistan*. If such plans existed, little was done to put them into effect in the face of Sheng Shih-ts'ai's consolidation of his power throughout Sinkiang.

After the Japanese large-scale attack upon China in 1937, Chiang Kai-shek quickly signed a non-aggression pact with Moscow and two years later concluded a trade treaty. A small but fairly regular supply of arms from the Soviet Union to the Chungking Government flowed diagonally across northern Sinkiang down to northwestern China. The danger grew that the Japanese

might use mobile forces to cut this supply route. The Japanese invasion of Inner Mongolia had demonstrated that suitably equipped columns could strike much longer distances than previously believed possible. With Sheng's consent, a Soviet motorized force took up guard at Hami. In 1943, when the danger that Japan might cut communications between China and Sinkiang had virtually disappeared, this Soviet force was withdrawn. With the rupture between the Soviets and Sheng toward the end of that same year, Soviet influence in Sinkiang declined sharply.

## Two Uncertain Frontiers

Among the questions which have affected Sinkiang in the post-war period have been its two uncertain frontiers. Sinkiang's southwestern boundary with India has never been defined.<sup>6</sup> As it passes along the ridges of the highest and most difficult mountain country in the world, it is unlikely to become much of a problem. Sinkiang's northeastern boundary with the Mongolian People's Republic also has never been officially defined. In 1915 a tripartite agreement among China, Russia and Mongolia stipulated that this frontier should not be demarcated unilaterally by the Chinese Government. The Border Commission provided for in this agreement has never been appointed. Frontier incidents have long been common and are easily provoked. Before this frontier is finally settled, it may yet become an important international issue.

In the post-war scene Japan is entirely out of the picture, while the British role remains of minor importance. Soviet concern continues to be pronounced. What emerges as a new factor in the international relations of Sinkiang is the increasing interest of the United States. In 1943, when wartime problems of supplying China were acute, the first American consulate in Sinkiang was opened at Urumchi. More recently, particularly during the period of the Wedemeyer Mission to China in the summer of 1947, there has been discussion of Sinkiang's strategic possibilities. The area has been termed a possible fighter plane base "on an aerial route leading from Okinawa through west China to the important Lake Baikal industrial region of the Soviet Union" and reference has been made to an "American zone" in China reaching all the way to Sinkiang.<sup>7</sup>

6 "The Indo-Chinese frontier on the side of Eastern Turkistan has never been fixed by treaty with China." Government of India *Collection of Treaties, Engagements, and Sanads*, vol. 14, p. 2. (New Delhi, 1929). In the latter part of the nineteenth century the general direction of the frontier of Russia and China in the Pamirs west of Kashgar was described in a number of treaties and protocols, but no exact boundary line has ever been formally drawn.

7 Henry R. Lieberman in the *New York Times*, September 1, 1947.

## ECONOMIC NOTES ON SINKIANG: RESOURCES AND PRODUCTION

Optimistic estimates of production and the agricultural and mining possibilities in Sinkiang fail to consider political and social obstacles to economic progress.

The 3,620,000 acres of cultivated land is only about one percent of the total area. Pasture land, mainly concentrated in Jungaria, totals some 160,000,000 acres. Estimates of idle arable land vary widely, one estimate being 6,700,000. Cultivation of this idle land depends on solution of correlated problems: (a) irrigation projects, which are dependent on railway construction; (b) deficiencies of livestock and fertilizers and of water supply; (c) the development of a substitute fuel supply, and (d) semi-feudal agrarian relations.

Soil productivity is average. The discharge of all streams is sufficient to irrigate about 11,000,000 acres. There are few forests. Far from coal fields, deposits of iron ores are poor. Only about 50,000 tons of coal and 5,000 tons of iron ore are mined per annum. The oil potential seems very great, the most important field being near Wusu in Jungaria. Although daily production of crude oil was at one time about 100 tons, production has ceased since 1943.

The distribution of land uses is as follows: (a) grazing regions: along the southern slope of the Altai Mountains, east of the Barlik Mountains, on both banks of the Em River, and the lower northern slope of the T'ien Shan; (b) farming regions: winter wheat (single-cropping), Jungaria; spring wheat (single-cropping) Kulja, Kucha, Karashar, and Cherchen; wheat or rice (single-cropping), Aksu; wheat and corn (biennial triple-cropping)—also cotton and silk culture, Khotan, Yarkand, and Kashgar; and wheat and kaoliang (biennial triple-cropping)—also cotton culture, Turfan depression.

The economy of the Kazakhs, Mongols, and Kirghiz is based on nomadic cattle-breeding, with some commercial sheep-raising. Tillage is the main occupation of Uighurs as well as some Chinese, with intense cultivation of wheat, the major crop, and of corn, rice, kaoliang and barley. As a consequence of trade with Russia, cotton as a cash crop has been widely raised in the Tarim basin and the Turfan depression. Some production figures on principal farm and livestock products are: sheep and goats, 11,700,000 head (1943); wool, 12,500 metric tons annually; wheat, 12,100,000 bushels (1942); cotton, 19,800,000 pounds (1942); and silk, 770,000 pounds (1942).

Spinning and weaving are carried on widely in peasant households. Small quantities of manufactured goods are furnished by artisans. Printed cotton goods, used in large quantities, have been imported from the Soviet Union. In 1943 there were only five factories: two flour mills, a tannery, a soap factory, and a glassware factory.

Side by side with the tribal or clan ownership of pastures among nomads, there exists private ownership of land in the farming regions of Sinkiang. A crude survey in the village of Yawah, about two miles south of Kargilik, showed that the total population numbered 706 households. Total cultivated area amounted to 1.1 acres per household, land-owners numbered 576, and their holdings averaged 1.34 acres per household. The data on Yawah reveals several distinctive features of land ownership. These are: the existence of a large percentage (twenty percent) of landless peasants who in most cases share their produce with the landlords; the concentration of sixty-nine percent of the land in the hands of twenty-six percent of the rural population; and the "dwarf" size of land

ownership. These characteristics appear to be general in the Tarim basin.

The rural population in Yavah was as follows:

	<i>Percentage of the total number of rural population</i>	<i>Percentage of land owned by each rural group</i>
<b>A. Landless peasants:</b>		
1. Agricultural laborers	14.5	0
2. Pure tenants	5.0	0
<b>B. Land proprietors:</b>		
1. Cultivators		
a. Part owners	22.0	
b. Full owners	57.0	80.5
2. Landlords residing in village	1.5	19.5
	<hr/> 100.0	<hr/> 100.0

Land distribution among various rural groups classified according to economic status was as follows:

	<i>Percentage of the total number of rural households</i>	<i>Percentage of land owned by each rural group</i>
Landlords residing in village*	1.5	19.5
Rich peasants	4.5	
Middle peasants	20.0	49.5
Poor peasants	59.5	31.0
Agricultural laborers	14.5	0
	<hr/> 100.0	<hr/> 100.0

\* There were no absentee landlords in this village.

The relations between landlords ("bai") and rich peasants on one hand and agricultural laborers ("bivantel") and tenants ("dikhan") on the other hand are semi-feudal. Rack-rent and forced labor services are a general rule. Even the middle peasants are forced to pay double land taxes, one to the Chinese Administration, the other to community organizations. Until recently, for example, assessments were levied on the Uighurs by the mosques for educational purposes. During the period of Sheng Shih-ts'ai's governorship, when this function was taken away from the mosques and given to cultural organizations representing the various national groups, the assessments were then levied by these organizations.

Taxes and other assessments amount to one-third of the harvest. Share rent is the prevailing form. If only water is supplied by the landlord, the rent amounts to one-half. If working animals, seed, and implements are also supplied by the landlord, the rent is two-thirds.

In Jungaria the size of land ownership is much larger. The common size is eight acres in Kulja and thirty-two acres in Urumchi. Nevertheless, the basic nature of the agrarian relations remains the same.

Some localities have preserved much of the purely feudal system of the past. Mention should be made of the institutions of "mulk" and "wakf." The former is the survival of feudal land granted by the former ruling Khans with attached "chakar" or serfs. The latter includes bequests of lands to religious institutions.

In Jungaria dry farming is practiced. The fields under dry farming in Jungaria as a whole form fifteen percent of the

total cultivated area. Kula, Kuch'engtse, Mulciho, and other Chinese settlements in eastern Jungaria have been known for their dry farming. Lands brought under dry farming are usually too steep for irrigation without laborious terracing. In Kulja spring wheat is raised on such lands, the yields being uncertain. In some years there is almost no harvest; it is reported that the lean years are three or four out of ten.

In the Tarim basin almost all land utilization depends on the availability of water, eighty-five percent of which comes from the mountains. In the Turfan depression, forty percent of the water supply comes from subterranean flows, the rest from mountains and rivers formed by springs. Melting glaciers or high snow flow down into the basin and spread out through the network of canals. Springs are canalized in the same way. Use is also made of "kariz," a kind of underground canal constructed by sinking a number of shafts and joining them underground by a tunnel. The underground water flows into the tunnel and emerges at the desired spot in the plain.

Almost all irrigation canals are dug by the collective efforts of peasants. As masses of labor have to be mobilized for such public works—for instance, 300 men from six villages were mobilized to open up a new irrigation canal in Chira—such large scale undertakings must be organized from a center by the administration.

The construction of "kariz," however, has largely been undertaken by wealthy landlords. Peasants are too poor to hire skilled laborers and bear the risk of failure.

The water right of each peasant is made proportional to the quantity of labor contributed by him to the digging of the irrigation canals. In one village of Kucha an individual who contributes one "ketman" of labor, i.e. the labor of one man during the whole length of the digging, is entitled to use one "ketman" of water, or enough to irrigate ten to fourteen acres of crop fields.

The owners of the "kariz" monopolize the water supply. Peasants have to buy water from these monopolists and pay them with a part of the harvest. Disputes over water-rights constantly occur. Many localities are troubled by quarrels regarding water-rights between the upper and lower parts of a river. Irrigation regulation is entirely a matter of self-government among Uighurs. Agents empowered to superintend the distribution of water are chosen by the villages.

There are a number of defects in the system of water control in Sinkiang. No flood control or regulation of river channels has ever been instituted. No equitable distribution of water has ever been enforced. Peasants have been under constant threat of floods, lack of water, and changes of river channels. The provincial as well as the local bureaucrats have proved incapable of remedying the situation. The incompetence and negligence of the Administration in water control is a prime factor in the steady weakening of its power in Sinkiang.

#### BOUND COPIES

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## BOOKS ON THE PACIFIC AREA

**CHINA AWAKE:** By Robert Payne. New York: Dodd, Mead, 1947. 424 pp. \$4.00.

For three years Robert Payne lived and taught in a great wartime Chinese institution of learning, Southeast Associated University ("Lienta") in Kunming. *China Awake* is his diary during his last eighteen months there, and for the four months following during which he lived in Peiping and visited the Chinese Communist headquarters, then in Yenan.

Payne himself is always the center of the book. He records events only as they strike his private soul and imagination, often associating them with everything from the English countryside to Ezra Pound's poems. Much in the book will inevitably seem mere vaporizing to anyone other than the author.

The whole is warmed, however, by Mr. Payne's sympathy for those who must live and work in China's universities. The most interesting part of the book is its vivid, striking account of the Kunming student demonstrations late in 1945. This is a moving picture of the tragic heroism of students and teachers struggling for their democratic rights. And he makes one feel the deadly exasperation and frustration of trying to deal with Kuomintang officialdom.

Although Mr. Payne has a genuine gift for using words to conjure up the sight, smell, feel and sound of places and events, he often lets the words run off by themselves. Much of his writing is sighs and rather thin dreams, and some of it is pure nonsense. For example, he "fears" the atom bomb but "delights in it," because it can turn "whole cities to powder" because that is "better . . . than that we should become gobs of disused flesh." On another tack he approves the soul-searchings of a friend as to whether "it was advisable to have railways all over China—(as) the hinterland would be more than ever drained to serve the coastal ports,"—as though that is the inevitable consequence.

*China Awake* is the ninth book to be published by Mr. Payne in less than two years. One wishes that he would stop awhile to discipline his flow of expression, and offer his undoubted talents in less diluted form.

ELSIE FAIRFAX-CHOLMELEY

## NEWS CHRONOLOGY

**February 6 to 18, 1948**

**February 6: China.** Replying to the British note regarding Kowloon, made public January 27, the Chinese Foreign Office publishes its reply, in which it is maintained that China has never relinquished control. (Partial text in *New York Times*, February 7.)

**February 6: Korea.** The UN Temporary Commission resolves, because of the "negative attitude of the Soviet authorities," to consult with the Interim Committee (Little Assembly) of the UN. (Text of resolution in *New York Times*, February 7.)

**February 7: Korea.** A wave of sabotage, reportedly communist inspired, sweeps through southern Korea, as a protest

against the Temp[or]ary Commission's decision of the preceding day.

**February 8: India.** Pursuing its policy, initiated February 2 as a result of Mr. Gandhi's assassination, of outlawing organizations preaching violence or communal hatred, the Government of India outlaws the Moslem League's National Guard and the Khaksars.

**February 9: Indonesia.** The UN Good Offices Committee concludes its work in Indonesia, it being decided that future Dutch-Indonesian negotiations be held alternately at Batavia and Jogjakarta.

**February 10: Ceylon.** The first Dominion Parliament is inaugurated.

**February 10: Japan.** Premier Tetsu Katayama and his Cabinet, the fifth since the Japanese surrender, resign. The American Chief Prosecutor asks the International Military Tribunal to impose the death penalty on former Premier Hideki Tojo and twenty-four others charged with major war crimes.

**February 10: Philippines.** President Roxas submits to the Congress the budget for the coming fiscal year, with estimated expenditures fully covered by estimated normal revenues amounting to 250,000,000 pesos.

**February 11: Nepal.** Under a recent agreement for an exchange of ministers, Henry F. Grady, American Ambassador to India, is in addition made Minister to Nepal.

**February 13: Philippines.** President Roxas' proclamation of January 28 granting amnesty to Filipinos accused of treason for political collaboration or trading with the enemy during World War II is approved by the Lower House, the Senate having previously approved. Reportedly more than one thousand are freed thereby from treason charges, including José P. Laurel and Jorge B. Vargas.

**February 16: Korea.** The radio in North Korea states that a constitution has been presented to the North Korean People's Council to be voted on in mid-March, that a Korean army has been organized, and that a new flag has been chosen, a red star with crossed hammers over it and crossed sickles below.

**February 18: China.** President Truman asks Congress to "authorize a program for aid to China in the amount of \$570,000,000 to provide assistance until June 30, 1949," of which \$510,000,000 would be for food and emergency relief supplies and \$60,000,000 for restoration of transportation, fuel and power facilities, and export industries.

This chronology is based on reports in the *New York Herald Tribune* and the *New York Times*.

## FAR EASTERN SURVEY

**Editor:** LAURENCE E. SALISBURY

**Editorial Assistant:** ELIZABETH CONVERSE

PUBLISHED FORTNIGHTLY BY THE AMERICAN INSTITUTE OF PACIFIC RELATIONS, INC., 1 EAST 54TH ST., NEW YORK 22, N. Y. ROBERT G. SPROUL, Chairman; EDWARD C. CARTER, Executive Vice Chairman; DONALD B. STRAUS, Treasurer; CELESTINE G. MOTT, Secretary; TILLIE G. SHAHN, Assistant Treasurer. ANNUAL SUBSCRIPTION, \$6.00; SINGLE COPIES, 25c.

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Enclosed for the Bureau files is a copy of the May, 1948 "I.P.R. Bulletin", and the June 2, 1948 issue of Far Eastern Survey.

It may be noted that on page 12 of the "Bulletin", EDWARD C. CARTER is in Shanghai as a Consultant with the U. N. Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East. *UN no longer valid*

Mr. LOUIS BUDENZ has stated that EDWARD C. CARTER was under Communist Party discipline, and that he formerly dealt with CARTER as a Party member.

For information.

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# Far Eastern Survey

AMERICAN INSTITUTE OF PACIFIC RELATIONS

## IMPASSE IN INDOCHINA

### The Unity of Vietnam

BY GEORGE SHELDON

**EDITORIAL NOTE:** *The two articles which follow deal with the current situation in Indochina, an area regarding which little information is available in the American press and periodicals. The author of the first article, Mr. George Sheldon, was in Indochina with the United States Army during the war and is now at the University of Chicago. The author of the second article, Mr. John F. Embree, recently returned from Southeast Asia where he served in Siam and Indochina as U.S. Cultural Affairs Officer. He is now a member of the faculty of Foreign Area Studies, Yale University.*

SINCE SEPTEMBER 1945 there has been no peace between France and the Vietnam nationalists in Indochina. A preliminary convention, signed by the responsible parties to the dispute on March 6, 1946, permitted the peaceable entry of French troops into Tonkin, the stronghold of the Vietnam revolt, while Vietnam was recognized as a free state within the French Union. Nevertheless, "police action" by French forces continued in Cochinchina, the southernmost of the three Annamese-speaking provinces, where a "coup de force" shielded by British arms had enabled France to secure a military foothold in 1945. This area was beyond any doubt an integral part of the historical and cultural unit which for more than a century had been known as Vietnam, and the *de facto* Democratic Republic of Vietnam protested repeatedly against military operations directed toward the elimination of nationalist influence from Cochinchina.

A so-called *modus vivendi*, the rather noncommittal

achievement of subsequent negotiations in Paris, was signed on September 14, 1946. The terms of this agreement, including a cease-fire provision, were to take effect on October 31, but localized hostilities continued until December 19 when a clash between French and Vietnamese troops at Hanoi touched off a full-scale war throughout all of Vietnam.

The failure of negotiations centers in the question of Vietnamese unity, both in terms of territory and political allegiance and with particular reference to the relationship between Cochinchina and the Republic of Vietnam.

Before World War II, Cochinchina had been a colony

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#### IMPASSE IN INDOCHINA

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#### THE KOREAN ELECTION

by Robert T. Oliver

An interpretation of the election and Dr. Syngman Rhee's success.

#### LAND DISTRIBUTION IN KOREA

by Shannon McCune

AMGIK proceeds with sale of one-tenth of planted area in south Korea.

#### THE FOOD SUPPLY OF SHANGHAI

by Rhoads Murphrey

Rice supply depends on local sources and water transport.

(Annam and Tonkin were protectorates) and for this reason, combined with the fact that it provided the richest field for French investments among the three provinces, Cochinchina was the object of particularly strong French attachments, both sentimental and material.

This political distinction, however, has never been recognized by nationalist leaders. For them, "Vietnam" has been the symbol of a national unity long antedating the French conquests of the nineteenth century. "Vietnam!" was the final cry of the insurgents who faced the guillotine following the abortive uprising at Yen-bay in 1930.

The first indication of what view France intended to take in the postwar period regarding the territorial unity of Vietnam came in a proclamation made by General De Gaulle on March 24, 1945 in which reference was made to "the five countries which compose the Indochinese Federation and which are distinct as to civilization, race and tradition. . . ." The distinction was apt only with respect to the interior provinces of Laos and Cambodia. Such an interpretation did little to encourage the Vietnamese then engaged in active resistance to the Japanese forces of occupation to view with confidence French promises of a liberalized postwar regime.

Since the re-establishment of French control in Saigon following V-J Day Vietnamese spokesmen have charged that the policy which France is pursuing is consistent with the implications of the March 24 Declaration—that it is one of "divide and rule" directed toward the encouragement of a separatist movement threatening the territorial integrity of Vietnam.

At a conference held in April 1946, French delegates readily circumvented Vietnamese arguments as to the historical and cultural unity of Vietnam by bringing forward the reasonable view that, however important these matters were, the will of the inhabitants of Cochinchina took precedence and that this would be expressed in the referendum on the issue, to be held in accordance with the terms of the March 6 agreement.

### Cochinchinese "Nationalism"

But the borders of Cochinchina remained closed to the representatives of Vietnam despite earlier promises of free and peaceable political activity and no serious preparations for a referendum were ever made. The Vietnamese produced an apparently authentic copy of a directive to the French-operated Radio Saigon which ordered the station "not to employ hereafter the expressions 'military operations,' 'Vietnamese troops,' and other expressions which the propaganda sources of Hanoi may take as a basis for demanding the cessation of hostilities between French and Vietnamese troops."

The Vietnamese press found it strange that Nguyen

Van Thinh, whom the French had recognized as the leader of Cochinchinese nationalism, should be a French citizen. Attention was called to the conspicuous failure over a period of many months of several French divisions to pacify an area in which a popular movement for an autonomous government under French protection was alleged to exist.

There is indeed little doubt by this time that such a movement has no popular roots. Both French and neutral observers have, in one form or another, expressed the view of ex-Ambassador Bullitt, who, though no friend of Vietnam, admitted that "up to the present time the French have permitted to function freely only those Annamese politicians whom they think they can control."<sup>1</sup> The conservative Paris paper *Le Monde* found that "it must be recognized that Cochinchinese separatism has absolutely no popular foundation."<sup>2</sup> The London *Times* declared that "[President] Ho Chi Minh and his colleagues have proved difficult to deal with, but they are still the only people with whom a binding agreement can be concluded."<sup>3</sup>

### Consequences of the War

Nevertheless, the French authorities declared that the generalization of hostilities in December 1946 demanded a military solution and that no negotiations would be undertaken with the government of Ho Chi Minh. The consequences of this policy have been the aggravation of an existing economic crisis and a constantly stiffening resistance on the part of Vietnam.

The early phases of the war brought important coastal areas of Tonkin and Annam under French control, including the much-prized Hongay coal deposits and the cement factory at Haiphong. Thus far, however, production in these areas has been barely sufficient to meet local needs. In terms of foreign trade the economic situation is even worse than it was immediately after the Japanese surrender. With the exhaustion of stock-piles exports have slumped. Nor has the importation of vast quantities of tobacco products, wines and liqueurs proved a blessing to a subsistence-level population. A French information bulletin reports that "no amelioration of the agricultural situation has developed in Cochinchina. . . ."

The Vietnamese have applied scorched earth tactics extensively but with a discrimination that implies a high degree of optimism as to the eventual outcome of the struggle. Rail and road communications have been the favorite targets of sabotage, while buildings likely to provide shelter for French troops have been rendered uninhabitable by the painstaking removal and stacking of the roof tiles.

<sup>1</sup> *Life*, December 29, 1947.

<sup>2</sup> August 2, 1946.

<sup>3</sup> January 2, 1947.

In other more significant phases of resistance activity, the Vietnam army has proved equally resourceful. To understand the scope of these military operations it must be realized that France maintains an army estimated at 110,000 troops in Indochina. The size and cost of such a force (3 to 4 billion francs a month) point both to the severity of the French task and to the improbability that a continuation of the present policy will, even if successful, yield proportionate material advantages.

### The French Pretext

Whatever the cost, France continues to find justification for her policy in the traditional "*mission civilisatrice*," which, in this context, takes the form of a war against alleged totalitarianism and communist domination of the nationalist government. The question of communism is closely related to that of Vietnamese unity, since the charge has been made that, through typical communist tactics, a majority has involuntarily fallen under the control of a ruthless clique who have suppressed those elements of the population who might otherwise declare for France or for some other brand of local autonomy.

It is well established that several of the leading figures of the Vietnam government, including President Ho Chi Minh, have communist backgrounds, but there is no evidence that the matter goes beyond this. The Communist Party of Indochina declared itself dissolved in November 1945 "in the interest of national unity." No significant steps toward nationalization were taken. Cultural institutions such as the Pasteur Institute, which had come under the control of the Vietnam government, were restored to the French in conformity with the terms of the *modus vivendi*. The "party line," so far as it exists, seems to be one of praise for the United States and democratic France. The stated position of the Vietnam government is that its quarrel is not with France but with an outmoded colonialism and that it is prepared to offer special privileges to French investors and technicians.

In 1942 the Communist Party was incorporated into the Vietminh League, which took the leadership in resistance against the Japanese. Since the formation of the Republic of Vietnam in August 1945, additional parties have broadened the coalition government. Official French sources have called attention to the rude elimination, at the instance of the Vietminh, of certain political parties of Chinese affiliation, but it was precisely these parties which had adopted the most rigorously anti-French policy. Following the expulsion of ultra-rightist elements in June 1946, an official French statement reported that relations had appreciably improved.

The nature and strength of political parties other

than the Vietminh cannot be accurately assessed. Nominally at least, they enjoy representation in the Vietnam cabinet and National Assembly, the latter body having been elected in January 1946 by the vote of all men and women over eighteen. A more precise indication of the breadth of political tolerance is the support accorded the Vietnam government by the large native Roman Catholic population. Many prominent Vietnamese Catholics, among them bishops, have declared their allegiance to Vietnam, a trend which the French considered sufficiently grave to warrant a special visit to the Vatican by High Commissioner Bollaert in January 1948, allegedly to enlist papal support for France in her effort to win over the Vietnamese Catholics.

On the whole, there has been little opportunity for the expression of opinion in Cochinchina with respect to the question of a unified Vietnam government. In Saigon censorship has taken the form of paper rationing and, wherever "unionist" sentiment has grown too bold, suspension of publication. On April 2, 1947 some furor was caused by an "Open Letter to M. Bollaert" which appeared in the native press. Written by a prominent Annamite well-qualified to speak for the moderate elements of Cochinchinese opinion, the editorial carefully analyzed and declared bankrupt the French policy of repudiating the Hanoi government and substituting another "scorned by the people."

Nevertheless, the policy of supporting a hand-picked Cochinchina government has been pursued consistently despite criticism and the blow given it in November 1946 when Dr. Thinh committed suicide in protest against the "*comédie*" which he had been asked to play.

A successor was found in Le Van Hoach, whom Vietnam sources identified as having once served as a police official under the wartime Japanese regime. On February 4, 1947, Cochinchina was officially proclaimed a "free state associated with France within the framework of the Indochinese Federation and the French Union" and continued under the nominal direction of Dr. Hoach until September 18, 1947, when a cabinet dispute over the separatist issue shifted Nguyen Van Xuan, the present incumbent, into the presidential chair.

### Overtures to Bao Dai

Co-ordinated with the separatist policy in Cochinchina has been the search for "qualified representatives" of Annam and Tonkin. A number of discussions took place between High Commissioner Bollaert and the former Emperor Bao Dai, the latter having taken up residence in Hongkong following the establishment of the Vietnam government. Discussions with Bao Dai were complicated by the fact that, in accepting the emperor's abdication, the Vietnam government had appointed him Supreme Councillor of the Republic and provided him with an annuity. This move was less a bid for political

talent (the emperor's duties under the French regime had been confined to certain mortuary ceremonies) than it was a gesture in the direction of tradition and the conciliation of monarchist elements as against any eventual French overtures toward them.

In the latter respect, Vietnam's tactics seem to have proved effective. After over a year of periodic meetings between French officials and Bao Dai in Hongkong, Geneva, and Bangkok, coupled with efforts to rally anti-Vietnam elements in a so-called "National Congress," matters appear to have progressed little, if at all. As late as October 13, 1947, a Reuters dispatch from Saigon stated: "According to a high official of the French administration here, the present military operation is aimed at facilitating French negotiations with Bao Dai. Ho Chi Minh finds himself well nigh encircled, and should flee very soon if he wants to be safe. It is likely that the French authorities will be willing to grant Bao Dai his claims for unity and independence. We also expect a sporadic resistance to continue after we have broken down the present set-up, but we entertain the steadiest hopes of seeing a quick rally of the popular masses, who have for so long been suffering, to a new national government presided over by Bao Dai." Whether Bao Dai has advanced any such claims remains uncertain, but subsequent developments have definitely demanded a revision of such a sanguine estimate of France's military position.

Vietnamese and French representatives have made plain the terms on which each is willing to resume conversations with the other, but as yet no common ground has been discovered. Vietnam calls for independence (meaning full sovereignty with guarantees for French cultural and economic interests) and unity (which means all three Annamese-speaking provinces) within the framework of the Indochinese Federation (which will comprise Vietnam, Laos, and Cambodia) and the French Union. Membership in the French Union, ac-

cording to the official organ of the Vietminh party, means a fraternal rather than a filial relationship with France, although France will be regarded as the "elder brother." These terms were embodied in an appeal for United Nations intervention which the Vietnam government made on September 12, 1947.

Two days earlier, Bollaert had stated the French position in what was termed a "last appeal," calling for the surrender of Vietnamese armed forces and an autonomous Vietnam government under French sovereignty.

The Vietnamese felt that this ultimatum did little justice to the strength of their position, which they were given an opportunity to demonstrate when the French launched their greatest military offensive, employing an estimated 40,000 troops in Tonkin alone during the winter of 1947-48. Although the campaign was timed to coincide with the dry season, the French forces were stopped and eventually pushed back with heavy losses. Such is the situation today: military-political stalemate and economic devastation.

Most recently, there has appeared some indication that an amicable and constructive solution may be in the offing, with the arrival at Hongkong of Louis Caput, official delegate of the French Socialist Party in Indochina, presumably for the purpose of approaching Vietnamese representatives. The exact nature of the mission is uncertain, but it is known that M. Caput is a personal friend of Ho Chi Minh and has long favored a policy of negotiating with Vietnam. It is encouraging that the French authorities in Indochina may at last have evinced some readiness to concede what has already been taken for granted almost everywhere but Saigon—that no forcibly imposed peace is possible in Indochina and that the only native government capable of concluding such a peace with France in the name of the entire Vietnamese people is the government headed by Ho Chi Minh.

## UN Commission for Indochina?

BY JOHN F. EMBREE

THE PRECEDENT of a Good Offices Commission in Indonesia as a road to peace raises the question whether a Good Offices Commission might lead to the end of fighting in Indochina.

A full scale colonial war continues to be fought in this corner of Asia three years after the defeat of Japan. This battle between France and Vietnam is more than a local struggle—it is an unhealthy symptom that Europe still ignores the human dignity of the Asiatic and so gives fuel to the fire of anti-white prejudice so well stoked by Japan. While the United Nations continues

to work for one world, the West, through France, fights bitterly to keep the Asiatic in his place as a producer for western industry. The statesmanship which has brought new relationships with India, Burma, and the Philippines is daily weakened by this war in Indochina—a war in which France is the prime mover, but which was initially aided by British military force and which can continue only by the use of military equipment made in U.S.A.

After virtually three years of struggle the French hold only the cities and large towns. Everything else in Viet-

nam is in the hands of Vietminh, the leading resistance organization. Even in the French-held cities foreign lives are not safe from attacks by grenade and machine-gun fire. Notwithstanding this hopeless situation, France continues to ignore the Ho Chi Minh government (with concurrence of much British and American opinion) and tries to restore an out-of-date monarchy.

### Offer of Self-Rule

The possibility of a relatively easy solution was lost when France, after signing an agreement with Ho Chi Minh in 1946, proceeded to set up a puppet government in South Vietnam and quarrelled with Vietminh over the collection of customs in the North. This led to a renewal of fighting. France's chief conciliatory act has been an offer to Vietnam to join the French Union and enjoy the privilege of self rule.

This offer was made in the form of a speech by the French High Commissioner in September 1947 and was a virtual ultimatum. The Hadong Speech, as this is popularly referred to, refuses to grant Vietnam an independent diplomatic representation, a seat in the United Nations, or even a local police force to replace the much feared French Sûreté. This offer also excluded recognition of the only popular government in the area, that of Ho Chi Minh. In making it, High Commissioner Bollaert added that Vietnam must accept this offer in its entirety or not at all. "It is beneath the dignity of France to haggle over so noble a cause." It was not accepted by any important Vietnamese group, and the fighting has continued steadily and without notable progress ever since. France has launched a number of offensives in the north and in the south but these have failed in their major objectives—defeat of Vietminh and the disorganization of resistance. On the contrary, resistance becomes more general among the people as each month goes by and more Vietnamese find themselves involved in the war.

Shooting may be heard in Saigon now as it was last year; blocks of civilians are rounded up periodically after the manner of German roundups in occupied Paris in 1944. It is enough for a Vietnamese to be seen associating with a foreigner to bring secret service men to his door to question him. The Vietnamese in Saigon and Hanoi live the same insecure lives that the French did during the German occupation while the Sûreté has adopted many of the ingenious techniques of the Gestapo to make its prisoners talk—or to punish them for not talking.

Yet the French show an appreciation of Asiatic culture in many ways that Anglo-Saxons have not done in areas under their jurisdiction. They are sensitive to its artistic values, to the feminine charm of the people, to the intellectual abilities of its past leaders and scholars. Nor do they have the extreme racial prejudice of

many Europeans and Americans. So long as the native is docile and "child-like" the Frenchman is willing to love and defend him.

In carrying on the fight to regain political and economic control of Indochina the French speak of their civilizing mission. At first hearing, this sounds like the cant that goes with colonial conquest, but if one studies the brief history of French "presence" in Indochina one comes to realize that the influence of French culture on Vietnam has subtly pervaded many aspects of Vietnamese life. The French have established the use of a transcription of Vietnamese language in Roman orthography in place of the old Chinese characters. This phonetic script has been widely used: books are now written and newspapers printed in it. The government of Vietminh uses the script in its mass education program and it has made possible a widened literate base in the population of Vietnam. Vietnam is the only important area in Asia where such a transfer from character writing to phonetic script has been successfully carried out.<sup>1</sup>

The French system of higher education has produced a remarkably able crop of Vietnamese scholars in law and medicine and to a lesser extent in other fields. The majority of those scholars are today leaders of the resistance to French rule. They could also, in the event of independence, be the leaders of cooperation with France. Even now Vietnam patriots who have been educated in Paris love Paris and acknowledge a cultural debt to France. The present war, however, is a bitter one. If it is carried on long enough, many responsible Vietnamese who favor a peace with honor with France may turn against their French heritage. It is already tabu for one patriotic Vietnamese to speak French to another.

There is no need to deny the cultural gifts of France to Vietnam, or to deny the claim that France has aided the country in its adjustment to Western culture generally. A Vietnamese might question whether these unasked for gifts were worth the cost in economic exploitation, but this is now of the past. The question today is whether in this age the economic exploitation of a country through political imperial control can be maintained and, if so, whether such maintenance is not a serious threat to world peace.

In view of the fact that the United States and Britain have both largely withdrawn from political control of Asiatic peoples, and in view of the recent negotiations toward a more or less independent Indonesia, it would seem that the old fashioned colonialism for which the French are fighting in Indochina is a lost cause. The

<sup>1</sup> The Koreans use a phonetic script developed in the fifteenth century, but this did not wholly replace characters; as with Japanese *kana*, the Korean alphabet is combined with Chinese characters in books and newspaper writing.

phrase "old fashioned colonialism" is used advisedly, because the terminology of the French Union is by no means equivalent to Dominion Status for members, as some French publicity would lead one to believe.

Under the present French plan, peace in Indochina means the setting up of a local Vietnam government with French advisors, the continuance of French military control of the country, the continuance of French internal security (*Sûreté Fédérale*), the continuance of French control of foreign relations, the continuance of French control of customs, the continuance of French control of education (including control of what books, movies, and other information media may come into the country and what students may be allowed to study abroad). There is involved no idea of autonomy or planning for true independence. It is not planned that Vietnam be a member of the United Nations.

### Solution: Arbitration through UN

With Vietminh fighting for independence and France fighting to restore her economic, police, and educational control of the country and with both sides stalemated, there seems to be only one sensible solution to the question—arbitration with the aid of a Good Offices Commission.

Presumably such a Good Offices Commission should be authorized by the United Nations and its members acceptable to the parties to the dispute. A three-country commission after the precedent of that acting in Indonesia might be best. A larger one might be unwieldy; a single arbitrator might not be able to carry enough moral weight for its decisions to be heeded. In Indonesia, where such a Good Offices Commission is now operating, both sides feel that they have lost something, but at the same time there is a spirit of compromise and negotiation which is absent today from Indochina.

A situation might develop in Indochina with Vietnam gaining independence while the less developed and less politically conscious areas of Laos and Cambodia might be given assurance of protection from Vietnamese absorption or Siamese expansion and at the same time France might be assured of certain economic privileges in the area, at least for a limited period, and present French nationals in the region be assured of protection against political or economic persecution. This should not mean a continuance of the old practice of the French colonial government of favoring Chinese and Indians in Indochina and discriminating against the Vietnamese in matters of commerce, civil service salaries, and legal protection of the individual.

A basic question arises as to who should be on a commission. For Vietnam there should probably be two representatives—one of Ho Chi Minh's government and one of a non-Vietminh group—say a representative of the Bao Dai group or one of the Provisional

Government of South Vietnam. This would obviate the argument that any Vietnam representative would be a tool of Moscow. And while the Bao Dai or the South Vietnam representative might seem to be a French tool, actually this would not be so because all leading political figures in Vietnam today are nationalist.

One important Occidental and one important Oriental country should certainly be members. The Oriental country could not be China, because she is too close to the area, has too many nationals in it, and is looked upon with deep suspicion by both parties to the dispute. The acquisitive behavior of the Chinese army of occupation in 1945 was distasteful to French and Vietnamese alike. Siam is unsuitable for similar reasons, as it has territorial claims on parts of Indochina.

India would be a logical Asiatic member of a Good Offices Commission. She is a large enough country to have her decisions carry weight; she is far enough away to be reasonably objective; and she has had enough experience with the complexities of ethnic disputes to realize that a solution in Indochina will not be a simple affair.

Of Occidental countries the United States and the Soviet Union are probably ruled out because of the issue of communism included in negotiations with Ho Chi Minh. It is possible nonetheless that the United States might be acceptable to Ho Chi Minh—perhaps even more to him than to France. At any rate the agreement of both the Soviet Union and the United States to the setting up of a commission and their acceptance of its decisions would be essential to a successful solution. Canada or Britain might also be possible choices. The third party might be any small non-colonial country such as Sweden or Switzerland.

Neither France nor Vietnam shows signs of wanting a Good Offices Commission, but it may become the duty of the United Nations in the interests of peace to insist on one. An active and chronic war exists in Indochina, a threat to world peace and a corroding influence on international relations. Today, more than ever before, the attitudes and actions of the peoples of Asia can affect the outcome of any world struggle either of arms or of ideologies. Any war in the area that can be interpreted as East versus West is a serious danger, more serious to the West than to the East. Primarily the current war is embittering relations between France and Vietnam and, by extension, between Asia and Europe. As by-products it is creating tensions between France and the United States over Asiatic policy and between France and Siam over Vietnam communities in exile.

France still has an opportunity to grant independence to Vietnam and thus gain the honor of statesmanship. The question is, can she bring herself to sacrifice a lesser honor—military conquest in Indochina—in order to win a greater one—peace with Asia?

# THE KOREAN ELECTION

**EDITORIAL NOTE:** *The following article presents one view of the recent election in south Korea. The author has been for some years associated with Dr. Syngman Rhee and is Manager of the Washington Bureau of the Korean Pacific Press. A detailed analysis of the election and of Korean leadership will appear in an early issue of the Far Eastern Survey.*

THE ELECTION IN KOREA has cleared up certain misconceptions as nothing else could have done. Participation by more than ninety percent of eligible voters and the general orderliness of the balloting combine to make the wishes of the Korean people clearly apparent. The Commanding General of American forces in Korea, the Secretary of State of the United States, and the Chairman of the United Nations Commission to Korea all hastened to express their satisfaction with the democratic authenticity of the election.

In free and fair balloting, the people of south Korea have given majority control of the new Assembly to Dr. Syngman Rhee. Several questions remain in evaluating the significance of the May 10 vote.

1) Was the election won by the extreme right? The distribution of the vote shows that Dr. Rhee is assuredly not to "the extreme right" of the Korean majority, but squarely in its center. His program, as summarized in *Current Biography*, September, 1947, includes "confiscation of all Japanese- and traitor-owned property and redistribution of such property to the peasants on the basis of their ability to develop the land; purchase of large estates for similar redistribution; nationalization of heavy industries, mines, forests, public utilities, and banks; state supervision of all commercial and industrial enterprises; progressive taxation; . . . social security, unemployment insurance, and minimum wage protection . . . ; restrictions on the employment of women and children, and universal suffrage." On his record, Dr. Rhee is "extremely" anti-Communist. So, it appears, are the Koreans who are free to vote their own preferences.

2) Does the election establish a "separate" south Korean state? According to the votes in the United Nations on November 14, 1947 and February 26, 1948, the election was held specifically to establish a legal and sovereign government for all Korea. Presumably, it will be so recognized by the United States and other democratic governments. Russian refusal to permit voting in the north was countered by a provision that 100 seats of the Assembly are left open until they can be filled by a legal election in the Soviet-occupied zone. As to practical effects, the division is already so complete that it could hardly be made more so. Whether

Russia will permit reunification is part of the larger question of world-wide Soviet-American relations. At the very least, a sovereign Korean government can now participate in attempts to rectify the results of the original 38th parallel division.

3) Can the new government of Korea achieve economic stability? The economic condition of Korea, dangerously weakened by division and two and a half years of stagnation, has not been worsened by the election. On the contrary, establishment of a Korean government is an essential of rehabilitation. Without present access to the raw materials, fuel resources, and heavy industries of the north, the government will need substantial American aid in developing the textile factories, new industries, fisheries, and agriculture of the south. Since Korea has always been a net food exporting area and since its fisheries catch in 1939 equalled that of the United States, it has at least a beginning on which to build. Its debt-free status and its possession of expropriated Japanese properties offer a basis for reversing the post-war inflationary trend. The goal of reunification must be pursued, for Korea as a whole is an economic entity of rich resources and great promise.

4) Will the new government be able to secure itself against communist or Soviet attack? The answer would have to be no if the rest of the democratic world were to stand aside and permit its subversion. No existing nation except the United States could stand alone against a determined Russian attack, and even we feel strongly the need of allies. However, it must be assumed that vigorous American leadership in the UN to establish the new government was not merely a prelude to abandonment of Korea to Russia.

## Question of Loyalty

The question actually breaks down into two parts. The first is whether Koreans (north or south) will be loyal to their own legally elected government or to Soviet-dominated puppets. Surely the results of the May 10 election plus the nationalist resistance under forty years of Japanese rule must lead to the former conclusion. The second is whether the United States will, despite its assurances, stand aside in case south Korea should be attacked by a Russian army. The answer must lie in the conscience and principles of the American people and government.

Dr. Syngman Rhee has reiterated his intention to implement his announced liberal program to the fullest possible extent. The key to how well he may be able to do so rests squarely with the United States. If American support is weak, the government will naturally have to bolster its anti-Communist defences with the help of the conservative "landlord class." But if American support is adequate to hold off the communist (or Soviet) menace, the new government will develop pro-

grams designed to strengthen the lower and middle classes and to establish its strength through the welfare of the whole people. The problem in Korea is essentially the same as in France or Italy: danger from the left naturally pushes the government further to the right. A tolerant, democratic liberalism flourishes best in security and evolving prosperity, as has been amply demonstrated in the United States.

The future of Korea cannot be considered in isolation from what happens to the rest of the world and notably to China and Japan. If Communism remains unchecked in China, and if America's primary Asian policy should consist of rebuilding Japan, Korea will remain "the country in the middle," as it has been since V-J Day. A continuance of present tensions, or outbreak of war, would mean that Korea's whole national effort must be focused around a life-and-death struggle for existence; but a world settlement with Russia in accordance with Atlantic Charter principles would free Korea for normal political and economic development.

ROBERT T. OLIVER

## LAND DISTRIBUTION IN KOREA

A RECENT DEVELOPMENT in land redistribution in South Korea calls for a short postscript to an earlier article.<sup>1</sup> Ordinance No. 173 of the Military Government in Korea, promulgated toward the end of March, provides for the redistribution of the former Japanese owned agricultural land of southern Korea. This action is a laudable reversal of American policy in Korea and will confront Korean groups which may come into power in South Korea with an important economic reform already accomplished under American aegis. If correctly administered, it will aid in achieving the purpose . . . "to assist tenant farmers to become independent farm owners so as to strengthen the agriculture of Korea by fostering wide ownership of the land. . . ."<sup>2</sup>

The ordinance supplants the New Korea Company, which had been set up to administer the holdings of the Oriental Development Company and other Japanese companies, by the National Land Administration. The board of ten directors and the administrator and his deputy are to be appointed by the American Military Governor of Korea.

The agricultural land holdings involved are large. They

1 Shannon McCune, "Land Redistribution in Korea," *Far Eastern Survey*, Vol. XVII, No. 2, January 28, 1948, pp. 13-18.

2 This quotation and other data are derived from an item in the "*The Farmers' Weekly*," (*Nong Min Jo Bo*), Issue No. 95, April 1, 1948, published by the Department of Public Information, USAMGIK.

comprise 280,394 chungbo (or 687,246 acres), roughly one-tenth of the planted area of South Korea, and are now operated by 587,974 tenant families, representing 43.5 percent of the farm families of South Korea. Living on these lands are 3,318,115 persons, or 24.1 percent of the farm population.

The Administration is to proceed at once with the sale of the land to the present tenants or, in cases where the tenant already has sufficient land or does not wish to make the purchase, to other farmers or farm laborers having satisfactory experience. Refugees from North Korea or repatriates from Japan are also eligible to buy the unwanted land. Tenants are limited to the purchase of two chungbo (4.9 acres) or in cases where they already own land to smaller amounts which will bring their total holding to two chungbo. This acreage is above the average farm-household acreages of South Korea, 2.7 acres, though below that recommended by the New Korea Company as a workable unit, three chungbo (7.55 acres).

### North-South Contrast

An outstanding contrast between this system and the land redistribution in North Korea carried out by the Korean Peoples Committees under Russian control shortly after the occupation is that the southern Korean farmers will gain clear title to their land. They may sell their land after their payments have been made, provided ten years have elapsed since the original purchase date. An heir to whom the property is willed before payments are completed may complete the purchase, provided this does not increase his holding beyond two chungbo (4.9 acres).

Payment is on a fair, simple, and flexible basis. The purchase price is set at three times the average annual yield of the principal crop. This is to be paid in kind and can be spread over a fifteen year period (or longer in case of crop failures), thus averaging twenty percent of the yield a year, or may be liquidated as quickly as desired. This latter feature may be a powerful incentive for increased production. Secondary crops, an important percentage of the farm yield in climatically mild South Korea, are not considered in the purchase price or payment.

The timing of this move is auspicious for it will counteract some of the severe criticism of the lack of economic reforms by the American administration in Korea. It will be worthwhile to note whether similar redistribution will take place of the estimated large amounts of land now held by Korean landlords, particularly since political parties dominated by them seem to have swept the UN sponsored elections.

SHANNON McCUNE

Mr. McCune is Chairman of the Department of Geography, Colgate University.

# THE FOOD SUPPLY OF SHANGHAI

BY RHOADS MURPHEY

**S**HANGHAI IS THE FIFTH LARGEST CITY in the world in metropolitan area population, roughly comparable in size with Chicago, and its population growth since 1870 has been phenomenal, again paralleling that of Chicago. While the development of Western cities of a million and over during the past century has rested on the technological revolution in agriculture and the spread of mechanized transport, Shanghai has supported an equally large and still more rapid growth on what has in most respects remained a traditional hinterland. Only two railway lines serve the area of the Yangtze delta, and only a basic skeleton of motor roads.

The problem of food supply is an important one for the future, when large industrial cities will increasingly be superimposed on the more slowly changing Chinese agrarian pattern. Rice is the basic food commodity here, for which statistics are far more complete than for any other food items. Rice illustrates Shanghai's preponderant dependence on the water transport of the Yangtze delta.<sup>1</sup>

The approximately 70,000 square miles of the Yangtze delta, and more especially the rough triangle formed by Shanghai, Nanking, Wuhu, and Hangchow (roughly 180 miles by 100 miles by 100 miles), is one of the most productive rice areas in the world. Like its parallels in the Ganges lowland and the Pearl River delta, it is also one of the most densely populated areas in the world. (Within the triangle, population averages 2,000 per square mile. Total population for the delta as a whole is about 70,000,000.) Fertile alluvial soil, a growing season averaging slightly under 300 days, an annual rainfall of forty-five inches well distributed, and the fact that seventy-one percent of the total area is cultivated (the highest figure for China) have resulted

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<sup>1</sup> This study is based chiefly on the monthly market reports in the *Shang-hai tsung-shang-hui yüeh-pao* (Shanghai General Chamber of Commerce Monthly) and *Shang-yeh yüeh-pao* (National Journal of Commerce), Shanghai, for the years 1925 to 1934; also the monthly market reports in the *Chung-hang yüeh-k'an* (Bank of China Monthly Review), Shanghai 1930 et seq.; articles in the *Chinese Economic Journal*, Shanghai, for October 1931, August 1932, June 1934, and November 1936; *Chinese Economic Monthly*, Shanghai, February and August 1926; *Chiang-su sheng-chien* (Kiangsu Province Handbook), Shanghai 1935; and reports of the Shanghai-Nanking and Shanghai-Hangchow Railways for 1933 and on the Soochow-Kashing-Shanghai Highway, published by the Bureau of Public Roads, Nanking, 1933.

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in a total production great enough to create the surplus which goes to feed the delta's cities. Despite widespread urbanization in the delta area, which contains eight cities over 500,000, sixty-five percent of its population are farmers.

The outstanding fact in the physical environment of the delta is the omnipresence of water. In addition to the Yangtze, the Whangpoo, T'ai Lake and the chain of smaller lakes to its east, and many smaller rivers, the entire area, especially within the triangle outlined, is interlaced with canals. Within a radius of at least 100 miles from Shanghai it is possible to go from any village or town to any other village or town entirely by water, and in most cases this is the only available means of transport.

Shanghai is the funnel for the wealth of the Yangtze delta; it is also the commercial focus of the whole of China. Its situation near the sea, midway between north and south, near to Japan and the sea routes to the West more than makes up for the lack of a good harbor. Many of the world's great ports have equally bad harbors but they are located like Shanghai at the bases of deltas whose productive wealth requires a major outlet.

Shanghai's growth was the direct result of the opening of China to foreign trade. The city's development is indicated by its population growth: from 250,000 in 1870 to one million in 1910 to almost four million in 1936. (Figures after 1936 are inaccurate and are affected by wartime evacuation.)

There are three main motor roads running north and west from Shanghai and two roads running south. The northwestern and southern networks are joined by two connecting links, but the remaining roads are either short distance feeders or dead ends. The most important fact about the road pattern is that it does not attempt to connect any but the largest cities. With minor exceptions in the immediate vicinity of Shanghai and Nanking, none of the surfaces are paved and most roads are two-lane only. They were built for general automobile travel rather than for commercial haulage. There is in practical fact only one railway in the area, running from Nanking through Soochow to Shanghai to Hangchow and on to Yu Shan (the Hangchow-Ningpo line was dismantled in 1936). For a densely populated, highly productive area containing several large industrial cities, this transport network is minimal.

The monthly reports on the Shanghai rice market issued by the City Chamber of Commerce list supplies

of rice entering the city according to source. Most of the places so mentioned cluster within a seventy-five mile radius of Shanghai. For the most part they are located with indifference to existing road or railway networks, the majority of the places being on main waterways. In every case water transport direct to Shanghai is easy.

When the rice supply pattern for Shanghai is compared with the total figures of rice production in Kiangsu Province by hsien (counties), it is seen that only the heavy rice producing hsien which lie within the seventy-five mile radius send amounts to the city significant enough to be recorded. If a surplus exists in the other large rice producing hsien, then either transport costs are too high for competition with nearer areas or Shanghai can draw sufficient amounts from the nearer areas at a reasonable price to fill the majority of its rice needs. Chiahsing, for example, an important rice center on the railway south to Hangchow, sends little if any of its rice to Shanghai, although it does send large amounts of locally produced ginger. The high unit value of ginger can bear transportation costs which make shipment of rice, a bulk commodity, uneconomic either by rail or by water. Although water transport is relatively cheap, it is also relatively slow. Beyond this rough seventy-five mile radius from Shanghai the time-distance transport costs make water shipment of rice uneconomic.

Large amounts of foreign rice, mainly from Saigon, enter Shanghai, but the majority of these supplies are ordered by and subsequently reshipped to other Chinese cities, in particular Nanking, Tientsin, Hankow, and Ningpo. These cities are much more dependent on foreign rice than is Shanghai, because of the absence of easy transport in the hinterland of the other cities.

The rice market in Shanghai and the day to day movement of grain from supply areas is more sensitive to rain than to any other factor. The canals are easily flooded and the boatmen frequently refuse to load or unload when it is raining. For these reasons the flow of rice to the city stops almost completely whenever it rains. The fact that the entire Shanghai rice market, including foreign and out-province rice, reacts from hour to hour to the rain situation in the city clearly indicates, first, that water transport is basic to the rice supply and, second, that local sources of rice hold the commanding position. Railway transport of rice is mentioned in the monthly reports only once during the entire period 1925-1934; highway transport of rice is not mentioned at all. The dominance of water is so clear that one report concludes after a rainy month that "Rain and wind make a great difference to the merchant's heart." Even wind can produce flooding and congestion of transport in this low-lying, poorly drained region.

Recurrent political troubles in the area emphasize the importance of water transport in the food supply. In repeated instances of local troop movements and civil war during the late 1920s and early 1930s, food shipments to Shanghai virtually ceased even though the railways were kept open. Widespread fear of expropriation of cargoes and instances of commandeering of boats meant that traffic on the rivers and canals, which is handled very largely by small, individually owned craft, came to a complete halt on several occasions, with the result that the city was cut off from rice shipments for a few days at a time. The market reports make it clear that without water transport from nearby sources the city would starve.

Shanghai Municipal Government records show yearly average from 1925 to 1931 of 760,000,000 pounds of rice brought into the city (taking one *shih* as equal to 200 pounds). This is a rough estimate because there are no means of recording all of the small individual shipments arriving from the hinterland by sampan and junk. This total figure is broken down as follows according to means of entry:

From Inland Areas via Soochow Creek and/or the Whangpoo, 560,000,000 lbs.

From the Sea via the Yangtze: Domestic Origin, 60,000,000 lbs.; Foreign Origin, 80,000,000 lbs.

Via Overland Routes (means of transport not specified), 60,000,000 lbs.

Railway figures indicate that nearly all of the 60,000,000 pounds via overland routes came in by rail from cities along the Yangtze toward Nanking. Although all of these cities are on or near the river, they are further from Shanghai than its main rice supply areas. Given the lines, one might assume they would be used to carry the most important product of the area. The fact is that they carry insignificant amounts. Total figures given by the railway for rice haulage leave little or no margin for highway transport; it is presumably negligible.

Total rice sales, for which accurate figures are kept, are a further indication of actual consumption and of the amount of rice entering the city. Since these sales are recorded as a yearly average of 860,000,000 pounds, the Municipal Government report assumes that the difference of 100,000,000 pounds is accounted for by unrecorded shipments arriving by river and canal from nearby sources in small boats.

The Customs figures show great yearly fluctuations in the import of foreign rice to Shanghai, from a low of 2,000,000 pounds in 1925 to a high of 400,000,000 pounds in 1929. Whatever were the causes of these fluctuations, whether because of price changes or because Ningpo, Hankow, Tientsin, and Nanking merchants who normally order foreign rice for delivery in Shanghai decided at various periods to order direct, it remains clear that Shanghai itself did not depend on for-

eign rice to any important extent and could have supported itself throughout this period almost entirely on what it regularly drew from the delta area, as the city has done since the war while foreign imports of rice are sharply curtailed. The fluctuations in foreign rice imports may be attributed to temporary dislocations of price and to unstable political conditions. There is no indication that, given other than civil war conditions, Shanghai could not live on local rice sources.

The part played by rice from other provinces is most difficult to evaluate. Market reports indicate that except at planting time in Kiangsu this supply is unimportant and at all periods is smaller than foreign imports. But complete figures for out-province imports of rice to Shanghai do not exist, partly no doubt because most of it moves to the city by waterways in small boats, a flow difficult to estimate. The market reports outline a pattern of supply which follows closely the water transport network, with Wuhu on the Yangtze being most important and the bulk of other out-province rice coming from Kiangsi Province, where it touches the chain of lakes and rivers leading to Shanghai, and from northern and western Chekiang similarly.

Water transport has been the basic factor in allowing the tremendous growth of Shanghai since 1870 to rest on traditional Chinese food producing areas in its immediate hinterland. It explains the anomaly of an industrial metropolis in a country of subsistence agriculture and suggests that it would be difficult for a city the size of Shanghai to exist anywhere else in China than at the apex of the Yangtze delta. One may conclude that previous estimates of Shanghai's dependence on foreign rice have been exaggerated and that the delta produces enough to feed itself if only the food can be transported cheaply enough.

For China as a whole, foreign rice goes only to the large coastal or river cities because transport costs, once rice shipment leaves the water, prevent further penetration. This rice comes in because it is cheap, and it is cheap relative to Chinese rice because of the difference in transport costs between sea and land. Shanghai, however, can rely on inland waterways and has thus been able to grow to a large extent independently of foreign rice imports. For the other large Chinese cities as well it may be found, when full facts are available, that the flow of rice is governed predominantly by transport costs and that where cheap transport is provided, local sources form the major part of the food supply.

In a pre-industrial agrarian economy like China's, transport costs for any but high unit value goods are prohibitive beyond short distances. Once it is necessary to leave the water, these costs rise so steeply that rivers and canals are still used to carry the bulk of China's goods. Only a complete and well organized railway network can break this pattern.

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## BOOKS ON THE PACIFIC AREA

**RUSSIA: A Short History.** By Helen Gay Pratt and Harriet L. Moore. New York: John Day, 1947. 282 pp. \$4.00.

This book is a revised and enlarged edition of a volume called *Russia: From Tsarist Empire to Socialism*, by the first-named author, with two and one half chapters added by the second author. It might well be described as a social history of the country, since its chief interest is the life of the people, and the manner in which that life has been affected by the changes introduced by the Revolution of 1917.

The first four chapters are devoted to a picture of life under the Tsars, beginning with Peter the Great, and describe conditions under serfdom, after the freeing of the serfs, and in the early years of the development of industry. At first the former serf-owners attempted to limit the supply of labor for industry and the first clash between the landlords and nobles, who were content with slave or semi-slave farm workers, whom they could control and keep in a state of subjection, and the captains of industry, who wanted workers whom they could train and educate, occurred. This struggle between town and country, oft repeated, lasted until 1917, when a new government, that of the Soviets, representing (though not composed of) both workers and peasants, undertook to solve the problem of reconciling these opposing interests.

Against this meager but well-drawn background of Tsarist times is drawn the picture of Russia as it now is, with its theories of applied socialism (not communism); its Five Year Plans for the expansion of industry and transport, emphasizing the developments east of the Urals; its planned economy, embracing all economic activities and many other phases, such as education, culture, even art and literature; and finally, the preparations for inevitable invasion, which came in June, 1941, when the Nazi hordes crossed the eastern borders of Poland.

The remaining eleven chapters contain a detailed account of the numerous and far-reaching changes that have occurred in the Soviet Union, as Russia must be called since 1922, and their effect on the two classes of workers and peasants, as well as on the now proscribed groups of landlords, industrialists, shopkeepers, and other individual entrepreneurs, including the "kulak" peasant. These "reforms," as the Communists would call them, are objectively presented, and the many errors made by the Soviet leaders in the years before 1936, when the new Constitution was adopted, are not glossed over. In fact, they are illustrated, as many other important points are, by direct quotations from Soviet writers, including Stalin himself, acknowledging their mistakes and outlining the remedies suggested. This technique, which is carried through the book, is expanded to include comments from foreign correspondents in the Soviet Union, visitors like Wendell Willkie and diplomats like Joseph E. Davies. The method carries conviction of the truth of the narrative and supports the frequent assertions of the success of Soviet policies in improving the lot of the people; there is also a good description of the united effort of all the inhabitants of the Soviet Union to win the war and a short but pithy account of the devastation left by the retreating and defeated Nazis as they were driven out of the Ukraine.

It is to the credit of both authors that they have worked with a broad canvas and have drawn the details of events

since 1917 with due regard to the Russian background of the earlier chapters. To a thoughtful American or Canadian reader the picture of present-day Russia may be different from that obtained from his daily newspaper. But the truth and accuracy of the painting cannot be challenged and the importance of understanding the development of the socialist state of the Soviet Union cannot be overestimated. It is books like these that should be written and widely read by all those sincerely interested in a peaceful world.

ERNEST C. ROPES

**DELHI-CHUNGKING: A Travel Diary.** By K. P. S. Menon. Foreword by Jawaharlal Nehru. New York: Oxford University Press, 1948. 257 pp., maps.

The account of a journey, on foot, by pony, and by modern vehicles through the mountains, deserts, and cities of Central Asia may bring shades of Richard Halliburton to a westerner's mind. Mr. Menon's adventure is scarcely less romantic than any of Halliburton's, but because of his origin he is vastly more sensitive to backgrounds and undercurrents. He is on his way to Chungking as Agent-General for India in China, with the concerns of modern Asia in his mind; his diary, therefore, becomes a pleasing melange of present events, ancient anecdotes, lively description, and casual meditation. The perspective induced by a pony trip over Himalayan passes seems to make religious conflicts and dinner menus equally significant. Mr. Menon manages to communicate so much of his own enchantment that the reader is almost ready to agree with him when he remarks, "No one who has a feeling for Nature will contemplate with equanimity the prospect of an Indo-Sinkiang road. I dread the thought that some day men will 'do' in three or four days the magnificent country which it took me forty-six days to march through. . . ." Indeed, if one were to find a fault in *Delhi-Chungking*, it might be that the author permits the impression of wild nature and past glory to overbalance that of the painful backwardness of Central Asia. For this, perhaps, the book's subtitle is a sufficient excuse. E.E.C.

## NEWS CHRONOLOGY

May 1 to 14, 1948

May 1: Korea. The North Korea radio announces adoption by the "North and South Korean Conference" of a constitution for the "People's Democratic Republic of Korea" having jurisdiction over all Korea.

May 1: Japan. General MacArthur announces that, of the 325 companies designated for study under the Economic De-concentration Law, 194 will not be required to undergo structural reorganization.

May 3: Australia. Six hundred Chinese are ordered to leave Australia by the end of the year to conform with the "White Australia" policy. They are the remainder of nearly 3,000 Chinese refugees of World War II.

May 4: China. Chen Li-fu, leader of the C-C Clique of the Kuomintang, resigns as Minister of Organization. The Executive Yuan establishes a thirteen-man committee to administer American aid. President Truman proclaims that the Treaty of Friendship, Commerce, and Navigation with China will go into effect May 22.

May 5: China. Announcement is made of the appointment of Roger D. Lapham, former Mayor of San Francisco, as chief of the special Economic Cooperation Administration mission

to China in connection with the administration of the American \$338 million Chinese economic aid program. The Chinese dollar is reported as declining to one million Chinese dollars to one US dollar in the black market.

May 5: Indonesia. The delegation at the UN from the Republic of Indonesia charges that the new states of West Java, Madura, and East Sumatra are "not representative of the political sympathies of the people of those areas."

May 5: Philippines. Antonio Quirino, brother of the President, meets Luis Taruc, Hukbalahap leader, and reaches an agreement whereby Taruc will be placed under technical arrest, the President will proclaim an amnesty, the constabulary in central Luzon will be replaced with Huks, and freedom will be guaranteed to the Huks.

May 7: India. The US is appointed to the five-man Security Council commission being sent to effect order in Kashmir.

May 8: Burma. Former Premier U Saw and five others are hanged for the murder of seven Burmese officials July 19, 1947.

May 8: China. China's first elected legislature convenes with minority party delegates refusing to attend and with only 370 of the 773 elected delegates present.

May 8: Japan. The Government makes public the 1948 draft budget, the largest in the country's history. Of the Yen 370 billion expenditures, the largest item is Yen 98 billion for occupation costs.

May 10: Korea. 90.6 percent of the 7,729,909 registered voters in South Korea cast ballots in the UN-supervised election of a national assembly with candidates supporting the conservative Dr. Syngman Rhce winning a substantial majority of the assembly seats.

May 11: Philippines. A survey by the Bureau of Immigration shows that only seventy-three Japanese reside in the Islands and 100,000 Chinese.

May 11: Siam. On American initiative, the UN will question Siam regarding large shipments of opium from Siam recently seized in China. According to the US representative, Siamese authorities had purchased quantities of opium from illicit traffickers in Yunnan Province of China.

May 14: New Zealand. Premier Peter Frazer states, in commenting on the reviving of Japan, that New Zealand cannot afford to be distracted by the grave danger of communist aggression from the other grave danger of possible revival of Japanese aggression.

This chronology is based on reports in the *New York Herald Tribune* and the *New York Times*.

## FAR EASTERN SURVEY

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PUBLISHED FORTNIGHTLY BY THE AMERICAN INSTITUTE OF PACIFIC RELATIONS, INC., 1 EAST 54TH ST., NEW YORK 22, N. Y. RAY LYMAN WILBUR, Chairman; WILLIAM L. HOLLAND, Acting Executive Vice Chairman; DONALD B. STRAUS, Treasurer; KATRINE R. C. GREENE, Acting Secretary; TILLIE G. SHAHN, Assistant Treasurer. ANNUAL SUBSCRIPTION, \$6.00; SINGLE COPIES, 25c.

*The American Institute of Pacific Relations does not express opinions on public affairs. Responsibility for statements of fact or opinion appearing in the FAR EASTERN SURVEY rests solely with the authors. The editors are responsible for the selection and acceptance of articles.*

FAR EASTERN SURVEY

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# I. P. R. BULLETIN

This edition of the IPR BULLETIN with news of the activities and research of the IPR National Councils and the International Secretariat is distributed to members of the American IPR to give an up-to date report of the international program of the IPR. A list of the IPR National Councils appears at the end of the BULLETIN.

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Issued by THE INTERNATIONAL SECRETARIAT, INSTITUTE OF PACIFIC RELATIONS  
1 East 54th Street, New York 22, N.Y.

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Vcl. IV., No. 1

May 1948

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NATIONAL COUNCIL NOTES

Australia

A number of studies in the Australian Institute of International Affairs research program have recently been completed and arrangements for publication are being made.) These include "Trusteeship in the Pacific" by Prof. A. H. McDonald, which will be published by Angus & Robertson, and "Reconstruction in the Southwest Pacific" by W. E. H. Stanner. This latter study will be published by Melbourne University Press under the auspices of the AIIA and the International Secretariat. The sections on New Guinea and Papua were issued in mimeographed form early in 1948 by the Secretariat.

Prof. W. D. Borrie's study on "Migration" is nearing completion and probably will be published by Angus & Robertson. Another study in preparation which will be published under the auspices of the Australian Institute is Dr. T. P. Fry's Law and Administration in New Guinea.

An interim report for the International Research Program on "Security in the Pacific Area" is being prepared by Tristan N. M. Buesst of the University of Melbourne and W. Macmahon Ball, formerly British Commonwealth Representative on the Allied Council for Japan. Mr. Ball has just finished a book on the Allied occupation of Japan - Japan, Enemy or Ally - which Cassell in Australia is publishing and for which the Secretariat is arranging a U.S. edition.

As reported by Miss M. C. Kingston, Commonwealth Secretary, the following are the officers of the AIIA: President and AIIA member of the Pacific Council, R. J. F. Boyer; Chairman of the Research Committee, Prof. W. Prest; Hon. Treasurer, Mr. A. R. Henderson; and Editor of the AUSTRALIAN OUTLOOK, Prof. J. M. Ward of the University of Sydney.

✓ Canada

The fifteenth Annual Study Conference of the Canadian Institute of International Affairs will be held at the University of British Columbia on June 19-20 to discuss "Canada in a Two-Power World" and "Canada's Interests in the Far East." Members of the Pacific Northwest Division of the American IPR are being invited. Another regional conference on the same subjects was held in March in London, Ontario.

The sociological study, The Canadian Japanese in World War II, by F. E. La Violette has just been published by the University of Toronto Press under the joint auspices of the CIIA and the International Secretariat. Two other CIIA books are in press: British Preference in Canadian Commercial Policy by D. R. Annett and Canada's New North by Trevor Lloyd.

Current research studies in preparation include "The Crisis in Colonial Administration," which is being edited by G. G. Brown and S. T. Kimball; "Canada's External Relations: 1914 --" (second of a series) by G. de T. Glazebrook; "Canada in World Affairs," Vol. III by R. G. Trotter and Vol. IV by F. H. Soward; "Canada's Wartime Economic Cooperation with the U.K. and U.S." by R. W. James.

In the CIIA pamphlet series the following titles have been recently published: Evolution of Empire: Britain's Plans for her Colonies by D. C. MacDonald; Revolution: British Style by R. T. McKenzie; Soviet Policy Abroad by H. I. Nelson; The United Nations by Homer Metz; Newfoundland by Griffith Taylor and Canada and the U.N. This last is a series of articles by Prime Minister Mackenzie King, Hon. Paul Martin, M. J. Coldwell, Max Freedman and Willson Woodside.

The annual report of the Canadian Institute will be released in August and copies will be distributed to the other IPR National Councils.

✓ China

The China Institute of Pacific Relations announces that the following officers have recently been elected: Chairman, Dr. Hu Shih; Vice Chairman, Mr. K. P. Chen; Treasurer, Mr. S. Y. Liu; Research Secretary, Dr. L. K. Tao; Executive Secretary, Dr. Liu Yu-tang (Daniel Lew). The other ten directors are Dr. Carson Chang, Miss Wu Yi-fang, Dr. S. R. Chow, Dr. T. F. Tsiang, Dr. Chang Poling, Dr. Mei Yi-chi, Dr. Chiang Monlin, Mr. Liu Yu-wan, Dr. Fu Ssu-nien, and Dr. Chow Ping-lin.

Dr. Liu Yu-tang reports that efforts are being made to obtain a building in Nanking for the Asian Relations Organization in which it is hoped that quarters for the China IPR will also be provided. Dr. Liu is concurrently one of the two Secretaries-General of the ARO, the

next conference of which is to be held in China in 1949.

Dr. D. K. Lieu's study, China's Economic Reconstruction and Stabilization, has recently been published by Rutgers University Press under the joint auspices of the China IPR and the Sino-International Economic Research Center.

Dr. Wu Chi-yuen, who is now working with the Division of Economic Stability and Development of the U. N. Secretariat, is expanding and revising his study on "Chinese Currency and Finance," which was issued by the China IPR in 1945. A study of "The Chinese Gentry" by Professors Fei Hsiao-tung and Quentin Pan of Tsinghua University is now nearing completion.

Dr. Chen Chen-han, Professor of Economic History at Peiping National University, has agreed to write a study of the "Development of the Modern Chinese Business Class up to 1937" under the joint auspices of the International Secretariat, the Institute of Social Sciences at Nanking, and Peiping National University. A supplementary sociological analysis of the "Modern Chinese Business Class During and Since the War" is also being planned by the International Secretariat. Mr. Shih Kuo-heng, now at Harvard University, is preparing an introductory essay and bibliographical review on the subject based on materials available in the United States.

Dr. Dorothy Borg, who is at present on the faculty of Peiping National University and acting as Research Associate of the International Secretariat, is cooperating with Prof. T. Y. Wang in conducting a study group of university professors on China's foreign policy in Peiping.

### France

Extrême-Orient et Pacifique by Roger Lévy has just been published. Although issued under the same title as the earlier edition published by Librairie Armand Colin, this is a completely revised and up-to-date book.

M. Charton, Inspector General of Public Instruction and a member of the Comité d'Etudes des Problèmes du Pacifique, visited Indochina in the early part of 1948. The Comité plans to publish a pamphlet by him on Education in Indochina. Prof. Pierre Gourou is preparing a paper on the development of the upland areas of the Far East, one of the new topics in the IPh International Research Program approved at Stratford. Prof. Gourou recently prepared a memorandum on the improvement of standards of living in tropical areas for the Economic and Social Council of the United Nations

(reference U. N. Document No. E/620). In March 1948, he addressed a meeting of the Comité du Pacifique on "Geographical Reflections on China." M. Henri Bernard, at another meeting sponsored by the Comité, spoke on "French Policy and Missions to the Far East."

✓ India

The Indian Council of World Affairs, which has now accepted the invitation extended by the Pacific Council at Stratford and has become one of the National Councils of the IPR, is planning to undertake a number of projects related to the current IPR International Research Program. These include "Indian Economic Relations with Far East and Pacific Countries," "Security and Defense Problems in South Asia" (with particular reference to India's position), and "The Development of a Civil Service and Administrative Corps in India." The members of the Research Board of the Indian Council which will be directing this program are as follows: Sir Chintaman Deshmukh, Mr. N. Gopalaswami Ayyangar, Dr. V.K.R.V. Rao, Dr. Tara Chand, Prof. D. R. Gadgil, Dr. H. N. Kunzru, Mr. B. N. Rau, Sardar K. M. Panikkar, and Dr. A. Appadorai.

Plans are being discussed for holding a conference on Indian-American Relations in India in February or March 1949, under the joint auspices of the Indian Council and the American Institute of Pacific Relations.

Recent studies published by the Indian Council include Labour in South East Asia by P. P. Pillai, Hand Book of Asian Statistics by T. O. Cherian, and Racial Problems in India. The International Secretariat previously issued in New York a mimeographed study on India and Security in Southeast Asia which was prepared by the Indian Council as a contribution to the International Research project on Security in the Pacific.

The Indian Council has a number of studies in preparation: "Indo-Russian Trade" by S. M. Siddiq, "The International Position of India's Raw Materials" by N. V. Sovani, "The Foreign Trade of Asian Countries" by B. G. Ghate, "India and Ceylon" by R. S. Rao, and "India and Burma" by S. Venkateswaran.

The current issue of the Indian Council's journal, THE INDIA QUARTERLY (January-March 1948), includes articles on "The New Constitution of China" by Yih-sheng Hsyu, "Machinery for Planning in India" by D. K. Malhotra, "A Review of Labour Legislation in Southeast Asia" by P. S. Narasimhan, "Indians Overseas" by C. Kondapati, and "Britain and the Dominions: Consultation and Cooperation in Foreign Policy" by P.N.S. Mansergh.

Dr. A. Appadorai, Secretary of the Indian Council, has arranged for the International Secretariat and the IPR National Councils to receive regularly copies of the Asian Relations Organization Newsletter, ASIAN RELATIONS.

New Zealand

A study of current Pacific problems and how they affect New Zealand has been begun at Auckland University College. Mr. S. Leathem, Research Secretary of the New Zealand Institute of International Affairs, Mr. W.T.G. Airey, and Mr. James Bertram will contribute to this project. The report on Reconstruction in New Zealand by Mr. J. W. Williams is now being mimeographed by the IPR Secretariat in New York and will be issued in the near future under the joint auspices of the New Zealand Institute and the International Secretariat.

Netherlands

Arrangements to have Dr. J. H. Boeke's study, Oriental Economics, published by the University of Leiden Press under the joint auspices of the Netherlands Council of the IPR and the International Secretariat have now been made. It will be published in late 1948.

Pakistan

The Pakistan Institute of International Affairs, which has also accepted the invitation of the Pacific Council extended in September 1947 at Stratford to become the IPR National Council for Pakistan, has set up its headquarters at Karachi with an up-to-date reference library on international affairs and an information center. Since its formation about eight months ago, a number of meetings have been held. An active branch has been established at Lahore with a second branch being organized at Dacca.

The first issue of its quarterly journal, PAKISTAN HORIZON, which is already in the press, includes two articles on Southeast Asia: "Indonesia and the Netherlands" by Mr. Idham and "The Burmese Constitution" by U Tin Tut. Other articles are "The Havana Conference on International Trade and Employment," "Some Arab Problems," and "Pakistan's Interests in the Pacific."

Two research studies are in preparation, one being a factual study of Pakistan entitled "Introducing Pakistan" and the other a survey on refugee work in European and other countries. Another study entitled Palestine in the U.N. by Sir M. Zafrulla Khan has already been published by the Pakistan Institute.

✓ United Kingdom

The Chinese in Malaya by Dr. Victor Purcell has just been published by the Oxford University Press, London and New York, under the joint auspices of the Royal Institute of International Affairs and the International Secretariat. Dr. Purcell is at present in New York working on his new survey of Southeast Asia but plans to return to England later this spring. This survey which he is preparing for the Royal Institute and the International Secretariat was originally entitled "Progress Toward Self-Government in Pacific Dependencies" but its scope has now been changed to a political, economic, and cultural survey of Southeast Asia.

New Paths for Japan by Harold Wakefield, which is also a joint RIIA - IPR publication, will be published this summer by the Royal Institute in London and Oxford University Press in New York. Dr. F. C. Jones's study Manchuria Since 1931, which is now in press, is expected to be published by the end of the year, also under the joint auspices of the Royal Institute and the IPR.

Sir Paul Butler, with the assistance of a study group, has begun preparation of a study on "Japanese Behaviour in War and Conquest." This study will cover both civilian and military aspects of Japanese behaviour and foreign interpretation of and reaction to that behaviour. It will begin with the historical background prior to the restoration of 1868, followed by a description of the modern Japanese military tradition. Japanese behaviour during their subsequent wars will be reviewed together with foreign interpretations of that behaviour. The study will conclude with a summary discussion of the Japanese national character. Another study on Japan - "Postwar Political Developments in Japan" - is under consideration as one in a series of studies of developments in countries which have emerged from a totalitarian regime.

A third study on Japan which is expected to be completed next year is G. F. Hudson's "The Effects of Western Influence upon Social Life in Japan."

Two Institute studies in preparation which include sections on Far Eastern countries are: Vols. III and IV of the late Dr. R. R. Kuczynski's study, "A Demographic Survey of the British Colonial Empire," and "The Comparative Study of Wartime and Postwar Inflation

1939-47" by A. J. Brown. This second study will include a section on inflation in China. Other papers in preparation at Chatham House include "The Future of Hong Kong," "Bibliography on Land Tenure and Related Problems in South East Asia and the Pacific," and "Development toward Self-Government in British Dependent Territories in South East Asia and the Pacific."

As a contribution toward the new International Research Program, work has begun on the project "The Requirements of Public Administration in the Far East and South East Asia" approved at Stratford as one of the major fields of IPR research for the next two years. Mr. F.V.S. Donnison is preparing a paper covering public administration in Burma.

A study of the export trade of China has been approved and plans for its preparation are now under consideration.

Professor Arnold J. Toynbee, whose one-volume A Study of History (abridged by D. C. Somervell) was published recently by Oxford University Press under the auspices of the Royal Institute, is now visiting the United States. In April 1948 Oxford University Press also published his Civilization on Trial. Professor Toynbee is currently working on volumes VII-IX of A Study of History and, in association with Prof. F. Ashton-Gwatkin, is editor of the Royal Institute's series, Survey of International Affairs. The volume covering the period 1939-45 is now in preparation and is expected to be completed in 1948.

The current issue of INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS (April 1948) includes two articles on the Far East, namely, "The Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East" by V. Purcell and "The Literature of Modern Japan" by E. Stuart Kirby, along with a number of reviews of recently published books on this area.

#### United States

The current activities of the American Institute of Pacific Relations are announced in the May issue of its newsletter, NEWS OF THE IPR. Copies of this newsletter are being distributed to the IPR international officers and National Councils with this issue of the Secretariat's BULLETIN.

OTHER ORGANIZATIONS

IPR members will be interested in the activities of the following organizations, which, although not IPR Councils, maintain informal contacts with the Secretariat.

Japan

The Secretariat recently distributed to the officers and National Councils of the Institute of Pacific Relations a letter received from the Secretary, Mr. M. Matsuo, of the Nihon Taiheiyo Mondai Chosakai (Japan Institute of Pacific Studies, No. 4, 7-chome, Ginza, Chuo-ku, Tokyo, Japan) describing the activities of this group working in Tokyo, many of whom were members of the former Japanese Council of the IPR. Although the Japan Institute has not yet been readmitted into the IPR, it was agreed by the Pacific Council at the Stratford Conference in September 1947 that the Secretariat should maintain informal contacts with it and give modest financial and other assistance for approved research projects.

With the resumption of postal service to and from Japan, effective May 1, 1948, it will now be possible to receive books and other printed matter from Japan and to send publications there through the ordinary post. The Japan Institute has informed the Secretariat that copies of its publications are being sent to the IPR National Councils. The Secretariat hopes that Councils will reciprocate as promptly as possible.

The Japan Institute has published a pamphlet - Taiheiyo Mondai Chosakai; Kako to Genzai (Japan Institute of Pacific Studies: Its Past and Present) - describing its present organization and activities, and also a report on the Financial and Monetary Situation in Postwar Japan by Hyoye Uuchi. This latter was submitted in an earlier draft as a supplementary paper for the Stratford Conference and is the first of several papers in a symposium on the Democratization of Postwar Japan which the Japan Institute has undertaken. The International Secretariat recently mimeographed one of the papers from this project on "Religion and Democracy in Japan" by Prof. Tadao Yanaibara.

Netherlands

The first two issues of the Netherlands Institute of International Affairs' new journal, ETUDES INTERNATIONALES, have appeared. The January issue contained articles on China and the Linggadjati Agreement; the April issue, an article on the Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East by H.M.J. Hart.

IPR members will be interested to note that among the officers of this new institute are included the following persons who have taken a prominent part in the work of the Netherlands Council of the IPR: Professor F. M. van Asbeck, Prof. J. H. Boeke, and Prof. I. E. de Vries.

In 1947 the Netherlands Institute received a grant from the Rockefeller Foundation for a broadly based European conference on the economic and cultural aspects of the German problem.

Southeast Asia Institute

The International Secretariat is cooperating with the Southeast Asia Institute in New York and recently assisted in mimeographing its bulletin. The Secretariat will also assist in the distribution of a new survey of education and cultural institutions in Southeast Asia compiled by Virginia Thompson and Richard Adloff, which the SEA Institute is publishing.

Asian Horizon

The first issue of ASIAN HORIZON has appeared (Spring 1948). This journal, which is edited by Miss Dorothy Woodman is published in London. The first issue included articles on "India and Britain" by Lord Pethick-Lawrence, "Social Reforms in Indonesia" by Dr. Subandrio, and a review article on the IPR Tenth Conference data papers.

THE INTERNATIONAL RESEARCH PROGRAM

At the Stratford Conference in September 1947 the Pacific Council selected the following main fields of inquiry for the I.P.R. International Research Program for the next two years: the reconstruction and reform of Japan; nationalist movements in the Far East; the development of the modern business class in the Far East; requirements of efficient public administration in the Far East; the improvement of Oriental living standards; and the utilization of up-land areas in the Far East.

The following notes relate mainly to the studies financed or sponsored by the International Research Committee, but those projects which have been undertaken in cooperation with the National Councils have for the most part already been listed under the respective Councils in the preceding pages. A full list of I.P.R. projects in the International Research Program was published in the January 1948 issue of INTERNATIONAL CONCILIATION by the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace along with the research programs of other institutions in the U.S., the U.K., and Canada dealing with international affairs, including the Royal Institute and the Canadian Institute of International Affairs. Copies of this issue have been sent to the National Councils,

FAR EASTERN ECONOMIC RECONSTRUCTION by Horace Belshaw. Dr. Belshaw, who is now working with the Food and Agricultural Organization in Washington, D.C., is revising and expanding his preliminary report on this subject which was prepared for the Stratford Conference and expects to have it ready for publication before the end of this year.

POLITICS AND ECONOMICS IN THE FAR EASTERN WORLD by Frank Tamagna. This project is being continued with the aid of a study group meeting in Washington, D.C., under the direction of Dr. Tamagna to discuss the problems of a Far Eastern settlement. A report will be completed in 1948.

GOVERNMENT AND POLITICS IN MODERN CHINA. Part I of the study (National Government in China) by Professor Chien Tuan-sheng is now being completed at Harvard University and will probably appear early in 1949. It is expected to be a fairly large volume. Part II of the study (Local Government in China) is now being completed by Dr. Wang Kan-yu at the University of Washington for publication in 1949.

THE HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT OF LAW IN CHINA by Chu Tung-tsui. This revision and translation of a work in the Chinese language is now being made by Dr. Chu under the guidance of Dr. K. A. Witfogel at Columbia University.

LAND SYSTEMS IN SOUTHWEST CHINA by Chen Han-seng. This report on field studies of two non-Chinese communities in Southwest Yunnan and in Eastern Sikang has now been completed and translated. It will be issued, probably in mimeographed form, by the Secretariat later this year.

CHINESE POLITICS by Lawrence K. Rosinger. This revised and expanded version of the author's earlier book, China's Wartime Politics, is to be published for the Secretariat by the Princeton University Press about October 1948.

THE IMPACT OF SCAP ON JAPAN by T. A. Bisson. This detailed analysis of the political and economic effects of the Allied occupation of Japan is being continued in New York. An interim report in the form of a monograph on the Prospects for Democracy in Japan is now nearing completion and will be issued about August by the Secretariat. The final report will be completed in 1949.

JAPAN'S AGRICULTURAL PROBLEMS by Andrew J. Grajdanzev. This comprehensive study is expected to be completed about September and will probably be issued by the Secretariat early in 1949.

LABOR PROBLEMS OF POSTWAR JAPAN by Miriam Farley. This study has recently been completed and will be issued in the near future by the Secretariat.

OUTER MONGOLIA by Gerard Fritters. The manuscript of this large survey is now being revised and edited by Mrs. Eleanor Lattimore and will be issued by the Secretariat late in 1948.

THE PROBLEM OF KOREA by George McCune. Professor McCune is revising and greatly expanding his Stratford Conference paper for publication later this year under Secretariat auspices.

A SHORT HISTORY OF KOREA by George McCune. Prof. McCune is also working on a brief cultural and political history of the Korean people from prehistoric times to the present. Several draft chapters have been completed but the date of completion is still indefinite.

INTERNATIONAL SECRETARIAT

Mr. Huntington Gilchrist, Chairman of the Pacific Council, has recently forwarded to the officers and members of the Pacific Council and to the National Council Secretaries the financial reports of the Pacific Council for 1947 and for the first quarter of 1948.

Mr. Gilchrist also announced that at a recent meeting of the International Officers it was suggested that the next meeting of the Pacific Council be held in or near New York during January 1949 and asked officers and members of the Pacific Council to notify the Secretary General as soon as possible whether they could arrange to be represented at such a meeting next January.

Sir George Sansom, Chairman of the International Research Committee, who has been teaching at Columbia University this past winter, has left for England, where he will be working on his book on "Japan and the Western World," an historical survey of European influences on Asia, with special reference to Japan. Sir George plans to return to New York next September.

Dr. Edgar McInnis, Professor of History, University of Toronto, and Chairman of the International Programme Committee, visited New York in April 1948. Dr. McInnis' article on "Problems of Far Eastern Settlement" was published in the winter issue of INTERNATIONAL JOURNAL.

Mr. Edward C. Carter, Chairman of the International Finance Committee, who is on leave from the American IPR, is now in Shanghai as a Consultant with the U.N. Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East. He has a three months' assignment on a study of the exchange of technical personnel in the Far East. During Mr. Carter's absence, the Secretary General, Mr. W. L. Holland is acting concurrently as executive officer of the American IPR.

During January and February 1948 Mr. Holland visited IPR groups in Seattle, Vancouver, San Francisco, and Washington, D.C. He addressed the annual meeting of the Northwest Division of the American IPR. In March he attended a meeting of the National Executive Committee of the Canadian Institute of International Affairs in Toronto, and he expects to attend the annual conference of the Canadian Institute at Vancouver on June 19th. He has also been invited to attend a conference on America's foreign policy which is going to be held under the auspices of the Brookings Institution at Stanford University, California, from June 21 to July 3rd.

Mr. Holland was recently appointed a member of the Research Monographs Committee of the recently established Far Eastern As-

sociation. This American academic organization will promote research and teaching in fields of Far Eastern studies, including a good many disciplines outside the usual province of the IPR. However, close liaison with the International Research Program of the IPR will be maintained.

Mr. Holland recently attended a meeting in New York which was called to arrange for the re-establishment of the American committee of the International Studies Conference which is intended to become the U.S. member organization of the International Studies Conference. Members of the IPR will be interested to note that Professor Grayson Kirk, formerly Chairman of the International Programme Committee, has recently been appointed General Rapporteur and Research Director for the next International Studies Conference to be held probably in 1949.

#### Stratford Conference Report

Earlier plans for the publication of the proceedings of the Stratford Conference in London immediately after the conference under the joint auspices of the International Secretariat and the Royal Institute have now had to be changed. The report, based largely on the rapporteurs' reports together with some supplementary documents, will be published by the International Secretariat in New York. It should be noted that much of the material in these reports and in the conference papers has been utilized by Dr. H. Belshaw in the preparation of his large research report on "Economic Reconstruction in the Far East." The rapporteur's report for the Stratford round table on "Education and Technology" is being mimeographed by the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace for distribution at a conference on international cultural relations which the Carnegie Endowment is holding in Paris in June.

A brief summary of the Conference discussions was given by Mr. Huntington Gilchrist in an address at Chatham House on October 14, 1947, and mimeographed copies of this address have been distributed by the Secretariat to the National Councils. A report on the conference by Miss Shirley Jenkins was published in the FAR EASTERN SURVEY, October 15, 1947, and another report appeared in THE WORLD TODAY, October 1947.

#### PACIFIC AFFAIRS

Increasing production costs are responsible for the announcement in the forthcoming (June) issue of an increase in the price of PACIFIC AFFAIRS, effective September 1, 1948. At that time the price of an annual subscription will be raised from \$3 to \$4, and of a single copy from .75¢ to \$1.

The new rate, recommended by the Executive Committee of the American IPR, will apply to all subscribers (American IPR members and non-members) in the United States. Pending a decision on the matter by the Pacific Council at its next meeting, the new rate will not apply to persons outside the United States who subscribe through their National Councils. To such subscribers the present rate will continue in force.

FAR EAST DIGEST

The Secretariat is continuing to issue this monthly summary of selected periodical material on the Far East. It has had a very favorable reception from many IPR members and the number of requests that have been received indicate that it is proving particularly useful to libraries and institutions.

PACIFIC AFFAIRS

June 1948

The contents of the June issue of PACIFIC AFFAIRS:

Land Reform in Japan by Andrew J. Grajdanzev

Political Development in Western Samoa by J. W. Davidson

The Prospects of Tin by Puey Ungphakorn

The Constitution of the Mongol People's Republic and Soviet Influences by John N. Hazard

Regional Unity in Southern Asia by Virginia Thompson

Problems Confronting Christian Missions in the Far East by Kenneth Scott Latourette

Japanese Reparations: Fact or Fantasy? by Martin Toscan Bennett

Japan - Storm Center of Asia by Wang Yun-sheng

Book Reviews

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5/7/48

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1 East 54th Street  
New York 22, N.Y.

E. Zhukov  
Pacific Institute, USSR Council  
Volhonka, 14, Moscow, USSR  
(Tikhookeanskii Institut)

NEW and FORTHCOMING I.P.R. BOOKS

May 1948

The following books issued under the auspices of the Institute of Pacific Relations may be ordered through the I.P.R. Publications Office, 1 East 54th Street, New York 22, N. Y.

\* \* \* \* \*

THE INDONESIAN STORY: The Birth, Growth and Structure of the Indonesian Republic. By Charles Wolf, Jr. The John Day Co., New York. June 1948. 208 pp. \$3.00.

CHINA'S ECONOMIC STABILIZATION AND RECONSTRUCTION. By D. K. Lieu. Rutgers University Press, New Brunswick. 1948. 159 pp. \$3.00.

THE CANADIAN JAPANESE AND WORLD WAR II. By Forrest E. La Violette. Issued under the auspices of the Canadian Institute of International Affairs. Toronto University Press, Toronto, Canada. 1948 368 pp \$3.75

THE CHINESE IN MALAYA. By Victor Purcell. Royal Institute of International Affairs. Oxford University Press, London and New York. 1948. 327 pp. \$6.00.

COLONIAL POLICY AND PRACTICE IN THE FAR EAST. By J. S. Furnivall. Cambridge University Press, London, and the Macmillan Company, New York. 1948. 568 pp. \$7.50.

LABOR PROBLEMS IN SOUTHEAST ASIA. By Virginia Thompson. Yale University Press, New Haven, Conn. 1947. 283 pp. \$4.00.

NEW CYCLE IN ASIA: Selected Documents on Major International Developments in the Far East, 1943-47. Edited with Notes and Introduction by Harold R. Isaacs. The Macmillan Company, New York. 1947 212 pp. \$3.00.

NEW ZEALAND: A Symposium. Edited by Horace Belshaw. New Zealand Institute of International Affairs and the University of California Press. 1947. 329 pp. \$5.00.

COLONIAL AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTION: The Contribution made by Native Peasants and by Foreign Enterprise. Royal Institute of International Affairs and Oxford University Press, London and New York. 1946. 190 pp. \$3.00.

OLD CHINA HANDS AND THE FOREIGN OFFICE. By Nathan A. Pelcovits. King's Crown Press, New York. 1948. 360 pp. \$3.75.

AMERICAN POLICY AND THE CHINESE REVOLUTION, 1925-28. By Dorothy Borg. The Macmillan Company, New York. 1947. 431 pp. \$5.00.

BURMESE ECONOMIC LIFE. By J. Russell Andrus. Stanford University Press. 1948. 362 pp. \$4.00.

HAWAII'S JAPANESE. By Andrew Lind. Princeton University Press. 1947.  
264 pp. \$3.00.

RUSSIA: A SHORT HISTORY. By Helen Gay Pratt and Harriet L. Moore.  
The John Day Company, New York. 1947. 282 pp. \$4.00.

MIMEOGRAPHED IPR STUDIES

DEVELOPMENT OF SELF-RULE AND INDEPENDENCE IN BURMA, MALAYA, AND THE  
PHILIPPINES. By John F. Cady (Burma), Patricia G. Barnett (Malaya),  
and Shirley Jenkins (The Philippines). 1948. 109 pp. \$1.25.

RECONSTRUCTION IN THE SOUTH PACIFIC ISLANDS. A Preliminary Report.  
Part I: Papua and New Guinea. By W.E.H. Stanner. Australian  
Institute of International Affairs. 1947. 105 pp. \$1.00.

FAR EASTERN BIBLIOGRAPHIES: India by Alice Thorner; China by Knight  
Figgerstaff; Southeast Asia by Lauriston Sharp; Korea by Shannon  
McCune; Japan by William W. Lockwood; Soviet Union by Joseph Barnes;  
1947. Single copies, 10 cents. Complete set of six, 50 cents.

CHINESE ECONOMIC PSYCHOLOGY. By Richard Wilhelm. Translated from the  
German by Bruno Lasker. 1947. 64 pp. \$1.00.

ORIENTAL ECONOMICS. By J. H. Boeke. 1947. 69 pp. \$1.00.

AMERICAN IPR PAMPHLETS  
(25 cents each)

AMERICA'S ROLE IN CHINA. By Everett D. Hawkins  
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OF JAPAN by Edwin M. Martin - NEW ZEALAND ECONOMY IN WAR AND  
RECONSTRUCTION by J. W. Williams - LABOR IN JAPAN by Miriam F. Farley

O R D E R   B L A N K

Publications Office, INSTITUTE OF PACIFIC RELATIONS, 1 East 54th St., New York

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pamphlet for cost of handling and mailing).

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ADDRESS \_\_\_\_\_

SUPPLEMENT

Japan Institute of Pacific Studies

The Secretariat received (on May 14th, after the earlier pages of this BULLETIN had been mimeographed) a long report on the activities of the Japan Institute of Pacific Studies from its Secretary, Mr. M. Matsuo. The following notes thus supplement the material appearing on page 8 above.

A southern regional committee of the Japan Institute, which has been set up in the Kansai area with an office at Osaka, has had an auspicious start. An open meeting was held on March 1, 1948 which about 3,000 attended to hear talks by Dr. H. Ouchi on "International Currency and the Problem of Devaluation," Dr. Y. Yokota on "The World Situation and World Peace," Dr. Y. Tsuneto on the "Structure of Japanese Society," and Dr. Hiroshi Suyekawa on the "Past and Present of the IPR." This committee in Kansai is headed by Dr. Suyekawa, President of the Ritsumeikan University of Kyoto and Board member of the Japan Institute; and its research group, by Dr. Yasushi Tsuneto, President of the Osaka Commercial College. In co-ordination with the National Research Committee it has been decided that the Kansai group will undertake research studies on the Japanese family system, cotton textile industry and small industries. The Japanese Institute is looking forward to organizing other branches particularly in Kyushu and Tohoku (Northern Honshu).

Mr. Matsuo has sent the Secretariat an outline of the current Japanese research program (April 1948). This includes "A Short History of Modern Japan" (with special reference to problems of democratization), which is expected to be completed by the end of 1948. It consists of five parts as follows: Introduction by Prof. Yanaibara; Political History of Modern Japan by Prof. Yoshitaka Oka; Economic History of Modern Japan by Prof. Hyoye Ouchi; History of Legal System by Prof. Sakaye Wagetsuma; and History of Education in Modern Japan by Prof. Munetami Kaigo. Prof. Yanaibara is directing this project.

A monograph on the role of independent-tenant farmers in Japanese Agriculture is under preparation by Prof. Kozo Uno, of the Social Science Research Institute of the Tokyo State University\* as a part of a larger research project on Japanese agriculture.

In addition to this a new study on "Land Utilization in Japan" has now been initiated. It will be under the direction of Prof. Moritaro Yamada of the Tokyo State University and is partly intended to supplement the Japanese Institute's prewar studies in this field. Besides summarizing the available information and statistics on the Japanese agricultural economy from 1921-41, the new study will include field surveys of two villages in selected areas. This project will thus form a useful companion study to the book which Dr. Andrew J. Grajdanzev is preparing for the International Secretariat on "Agriculture in Postwar Japan."

Indian Council of World Affairs

The Secretariat has also received since mimeographing the earlier pages of this BULLETIN a copy of the preliminary annual report of the activities of the Indian Council of World Affairs. Besides giving information on officers, research program, publication, it contains a long account of the Asian Relations Conference and reports the establishment of several new branches. The final version of this report will be published later and circulated by the Indian Council to the other National Councils.

\* formerly Tokyo Imperial University

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : MR. TOLSON

FROM : J. P. MOHR

SUBJECT: INSTITUTE OF PACIFIC RELATIONS  
Security Letter - C

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED

HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE: 6/9/48

SI DATE 3/15/83 BY SP6Bjdr/s

Mr. Tolson  
 Mr. E. A. Tamm  
 Mr. Pregg  
 Mr. Glavin  
 Mr. Ladd  
 Mr. Nichols  
 Mr. Rosen  
 Mr. Tracy  
 Mr. Egan  
 Mr. Gurnea  
 Mr. Harbo  
 Mr. Mohr  
 Mr. Pennington  
 Mr. Quinn Tamm  
 Tele. Room  
 Mr. Nease  
 Miss Holmes  
 Miss Gandy

b7C

Pennsylvania, [redacted] at the Capitol, called on June 3, 1948 and wanted to know whether we had ever investigated the Institute of Pacific Affairs or the Pacific Relations Institute, which is headed by Frederick V. Field. She also stated she would like to know if we had information on an individual by the name of [redacted] who has been writing for the Institute.

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From a review of the files it was apparent that [redacted] was interested in the Institute of Pacific Relations which is in fact dominated by Frederick V. Field. We have investigated the Institute of Pacific Relations and also have an extensive investigation on Field.

I called [redacted] back and in discussing the matter with her ascertained that she was interested in obtaining information apparently for a speech that Congressman Walter desired to make either in Congress or outside. I explained to her that any information we had in our files would be entirely confidential and would have to be furnished on a strictly confidential basis. I told her in reply to her inquiry that the answer to her question was in the affirmative and that that information likewise would have to be confidential and we of course would not want any publicity given to the fact that we have investigated the Institute of Pacific Relations. I told her I would be happy to furnish her with some public source material which I thought the Congressman could use or develop further and I also suggested that she might want to contact the House Un-American Activities Committee and likewise obtain any information that the Legislative Service Section of the Library of Congress could develop for her on the Institute.

She seemed to appreciate the suggestions made to her and said she was under the impression that when the FBI investigated one of these organizations the information became a matter of public record. I told her that was not so. She said she would explain the situation to the Congressman and if he desired any further information or desired to discuss the matter further, he would communicate with me. Congressman Walter has not contacted me and consequently the foregoing is submitted for informational purposes.

SF 2A 100-64700-8k

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51 JUL 1 1948

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29 JUN 10

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## FOR THE HIGH SCHOOL

## FOR THE ELEMENTARY SCHOOL

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# Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : MR. H. B. FLETCHER *b7c*

FROM : F. J. BAUMGARDNER *b7c*

SUBJECT: INSTITUTE OF PACIFIC RELATIONS  
INTERNAL SECURITY - C *b7c*

DATE: August 12, 1948

**ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 3/15/13 BY SP8/ACTS**

Pursuant to your telephonic request to Mr. Cleveland there follows a brief sketch of the above captioned organization.

The Institute of Pacific Relations was incorporated in the District of Columbia on February 20, 1939 as a private organization and took over the functions of an association which was known as the American Council, Institute of Pacific Relations. At the time of incorporation, the organization was described as an unofficial international group established to promote the cooperative study of mutual relations of the people and problems in the Pacific area.

In 1946 the organization headquarters were at 1 East 54th Street, New York City and as of April, 1946 the group claimed a membership of 1900 persons. It has published the Far Eastern Survey as well as numerous pamphlets concerning the Far East.

Among the past officers of the organization have been Robert G. Sproul, Edward C. Carter, Henry R. Luce, Mortimer Graves, and Ray Lyman Wilbur. Also in 1946 the Executive Committee included Frederick V. Field, Harriet Moore, and Owen Lattimore.

Edward C. Carter has been associated with the Institute of Pacific Relations and its predecessor organization for a number of years and is the same individual who was the head of Russian War Relief in the United States. Carter has described himself as a fellow-traveler and there are indications that he has closely associated himself with members of the Communist Party. The "New Leader" of November 1, 1941 named Carter as one of the individuals who had endorsed the Stalin-Hitler Pact prior to Germany's attack on Russia.

Frederick V. Field has also been associated with this organization for a number of years. He was formerly an Assistant Editor of the publication "New Masses" and has contributed a column to the "Daily Worker." He has also been prominently active in the affairs of numerous Communist front organizations, such as the American Peace Mobilization, The New York Council of American-Soviet Friendship, and the Council for Pan American Democracy.

Harriet Moore was formerly associated with Carter in Russian War Relief and for the past several years has been one of the leading figures in the American-Russian Institute.

Although the Institute of Pacific Relations has had a number of prominent individuals on its board of officials, it has been reported that a number of persons active in affairs of the Communist Party have managed to infiltrate into the organization and become active in its Research Department. (Summary of Institute of Pacific Relations, dated July 18, 1946)

RECORDED INDEXED - 69 100-64700-8

100-64700-50

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b7C

In an article appearing in the May 9, 1947 issue of the "New York Journal American" the organization was described as "the high-toned, super duper intellectual front of the American leftist movement ... It publishes high-brow Communist propaganda in expensively bound books and slick paper magazines."

Louis Budenz, former Editor of the "Daily Worker", has indicated that he had numerous dealings with Carter while on the "Daily Worker" staff, and that these dealings "were on a plane based on the fact that he was a member of the Communist Party". Budenz has also stated that the Institute of Pacific Relations was largely non-Communist but was Communist infiltrated. He also indicated that the organization had been discussed at political committee meetings of the Communist Party and that the Communist Party did have a great influence in the Institute of Pacific Relations and at times controlled its policy. (Letter from SAC, New York, June 9, 1948, captioned LGE)

Mr. Alfred Kahlberg, who was formerly active in the Institute of Pacific Relations, has, during the past few years, been extremely critical of the organization and has charged that its policy has been influenced by the Communists. (100-6400-39)

**Office Memorandum • UNITED GOVERNMENT**

TO : MR. TOLSON ✓, M

FROM : J. P. MOHR

DATE: 8/12/48

SUBJECT: ~~INSTITUTE OF PACIFIC RELATIONS~~  
~~X INSTITUTE OF ETHNIC AFFAIRS~~

b7C

Information Concerning

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HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 3/15/83 BY SPB/lds

b7C  
 Congressman Walter called me on August 11, 1948 and desired to know what we had on the Institute of Pacific Relations and the Institute of Ethnic Affairs, he stating that he was particularly desirous of finding out whether those organizations were subversive. He said he was aware of the fact that Frederick V. Fielder was connected with the Institute of Pacific Relations and he also stated that (he had received information that [redacted] had written an article for the Institute of Pacific Relations he believed on the subject of Guam which he understood followed the Communist line.) The Congressman did not indicate to me that he was interested in [redacted] at the time he called. He said he was catching the 1:00 o'clock train and asked that I give any information to his secretary, [redacted]

The Security Division has prepared memoranda on the Institute of Pacific Relations and the Institute of Ethnic Affairs. [redacted] was furnished with the background information we had on the Institute of Pacific Relations and also the reference to the article appearing in the May 9, 1947 issue of the New York Journal American which describes the character of the Institute of Pacific Relations. With respect to the Institute of Ethnic Affairs, I furnished [redacted] with the background data we had and told her we had never investigated the organization.

b7C  
 At the time of this call, [redacted] inquired if I had checked our files on [redacted] since the Congressman was very much interested in finding out if we had anything on him. I told her I would check our files and call her back.

[Redacted block of text]

[Redacted block of text]

[Redacted block of text]

55 AUG 27 1948 EX-20  
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RECORDED - 110

100-64100-178  
 F B C D E  
 34 AUG 17 1948

Mr. Tolson  
 Mr. E. A. Tamm  
 Mr. Glavin  
 Mr. Gandy  
 Mr. Rosen  
 Mr. Tracy  
 Mr. Egan  
 Mr. O'Gorman  
 Mr. Harbo  
 Mr. Mohr  
 Mr. Pennington  
 Mr. Quinn Tamm  
 Mr. Rose  
 Mr. Nease  
 Mr. Kline

b7c

It is to be noted in connection with the Institute of Pacific Relations that our files reflect that this organization is infiltrated with Communists although the organization is not listed as one of those on the Attorney General's subversive list. There is indication in our files that there has been an attempt by the American Veterans Committee to oust the Communists in that organization.

\_\_\_\_\_ was informed that we had never conducted any investigation on \_\_\_\_\_ and that we had no derogatory information in our files concerning him.

and when I asked her where he was at the present time she told me he was presently up in Pennsylvania campaigning against Congressman Walter for his seat in Congress.

The foregoing is submitted for record purposes.

Dr. Böhr

b7c

# Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

*10/27* TO : Director, FBI  
*Low* FROM : SAC, New York  
 SUBJECT:

INSTITUTE OF PACIFIC RELATIONS  
 INTERNAL SECURITY - C  
 (Bureau file 100-64700)

DATE: October 27, 1948

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
 HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
 DATE 3/15/83 BY SP639/cls

On October 26, 1948, CLAYTON LANE, Executive Secretary, American Institute of Pacific Relations, 1 East 54th Street, personally appeared at the New York Office in order that he might state for record purposes the present status of the Institute.

Mr. LANE advised he was appointed Executive Secretary on October 1, 1948 after EDWARD CARTER was requested to resign due to his attitude toward Russia which was influenced by his friendliness with people. Mr. LANE did not think CARTER was a Communist but that CARTER was inclined to be an individual who would let his emotions sway his political opinion and as a result he expressed friendly feelings for Russia which were "taken up wrong" due to the present political situation.

Mr. LANE went on to explain that FREDERICK W. FIELD has also been "eased out" of the Institute due to his writings outside the work he did for the Institute.

Mr. LANE declared he wished to make it a matter of record that he is very anti-Communist, as is the present board of trustees of I.P.R., and that it is his determination that any individuals who have Communist leanings and are with I.P.R. at the present time will be dismissed. It is his intention to build up the membership and finances of the Institute in order that the people who are interested in Asia and the Far East will have a legitimate and authoritative source of material.

It was Mr. LANE'S specific purpose also to present the problem he is experiencing in that rumors have been circulated that the Federal Bureau of Investigation has been suspicious of the loyalty of the I.P.R. and of the loyalty of some of its employees and contributors of articles and books. Further, that former Bureau Agents, through a newsletter, (whose name he did not recall but believed to be "Counterattack" from the description he gave of it), have set forth information which was prejudicial to the good repute of the I.P.R. He stated he wished to discover whether the Bureau has in fact information prejudicial to the I.P.R. or suspects the loyalty of it and its employees. *mc*

EX-16 INDEXED 142

100-64700-90

Mr. LANE was advised that the Bureau cannot by law furnish any information in its files, even if available, without the specific authority of the Attorney General. In addition, any actions taken by former Bureau Agents are their own voluntary endeavors and the Bureau is in no way responsible for whatever they do.

b7C

100-17808

11/2/58 RyaL

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6 OCT 28 1948

b7C

Letter to Director, FBI  
NY 100-17808

Mr. LANE declared he was cognizant of the jurisdiction of the Bureau and that he recognized the limitations placed upon it by law in such a situation as presented by him. However, he stated he intended to be in Washington, D. C. during the week of November first and while there he will confer with the Attorney General or a designated Assistant in order to present his problem to the Department. He expressed his intention of assisting the Bureau in whatever way he could in the future.

It might be noted that Mr. LANE appears in "Who's Who in America", 1946-1947, page 1346, wherein it is set forth that he was in the United States Foreign Service as an Officer in Berlin, Vienna, Warsaw, Johannesburg, Calcutta, Beirut and Damascus and has been a delegate at various international conferences.

This is being forwarded for the information of the Bureau.

100-64700-90

RECORDED

The Attorney General

Director, FBI

November 3, 1948

INSTITUTE OF PACIFIC RELATIONS  
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 3/15/83 BY SP6B3a/cjs

On October 26, 1948, Mr. Clayton Lane, Executive Secretary of the American Institute of Pacific Relations, appeared at the New York office of this Bureau and furnished the following information.

Mr. Lane stated that on October 1 of this year he was appointed as Executive Secretary of the American Institute of Pacific Relations after Edward Carter had been requested to resign due to his friendliness for Russia. Mr. Lane did not think Carter was a Communist but that Carter was inclined to let his emotions sway his political opinion. Mr. Lane further reported that Frederick V. Field had also been "eased out" of the Institute due to his writings outside of the work he did for the Institute.

The purpose of his visit, according to Mr. Lane, was to advise this Bureau that he personally is very anti-Communist and that any individuals who have Communist leanings and are connected with the Institute at the present time will be dismissed. He further stated that he has heard concerning that certain rumors have been circulated that the Federal Bureau of Investigation has been suspicious regarding the loyalty of the Institute and some of its employees. In addition, he reported that former Agents of this Bureau through a news letter, the name of which he did not recall but is probably the publication "Counterattack," have published information prejudicial to the Institute. Mr. Lane, of course, was advised that this Bureau can furnish no information in its files and, in addition, that any actions taken by former Bureau Agents are beyond the control of this Bureau and that the Bureau is in no way responsible for the actions of such former Agents.

I believe that you should be acquainted with the above information inasmuch as Mr. Lane stated that during the week beginning November 1 he planned to be in Washington and would confer with you or one of your assistants in order to present his problem to the Department.

For your information in "Who's Who in America" for 1946-1947 it is stated that Mr. Lane was in the United States Foreign Service for six years in Berlin, Vienna, Warsaw, Johannesburg, Colombo, Beirut and Bangkok and has been a delegate at various international conferences.

SENT FROM D. C.	100-64700-90
TIME	1 P.M.
DATE	11-5-48
BY	SP6B3a/cjs

cc: Assistant Attorney General  
Criminal Division  
SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE  
FBI - NEW YORK  
330  
330

b7C

330

J 3 M A

*Office Men* *ndum* • UNITED S. GOVERNMENT

TO : Director, FBI

DATE: December 20, 1948

FROM : SAC, New York

SUBJECT: INSTITUTE OF PACIFIC RELATIONS  
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

Enclosed for the Bureau's files are two copies of a letter from CLAYTON LANE dated December 9, 1948, with enclosures. In these letters Mr. LANE attempts to answer the criticism of Communism in the Institute of Pacific Relations. It is noted that in the postscript to Mr. LANE's letter dated November 12, 1948 he praises EDWARD G. CARTER. Mr. CARTER has been reported to have been under Communist Party discipline while he was in charge of the Institute of Pacific Relations.

This is submitted for the Bureau's information.

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DATE 3/15/83 BY SP/BS/jcs

Encs. (2)

EX-94  
ENCLOSURE BEHIND FILE  
b7C

SEARCHED - 94  
INDEXED - 94

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100-17808

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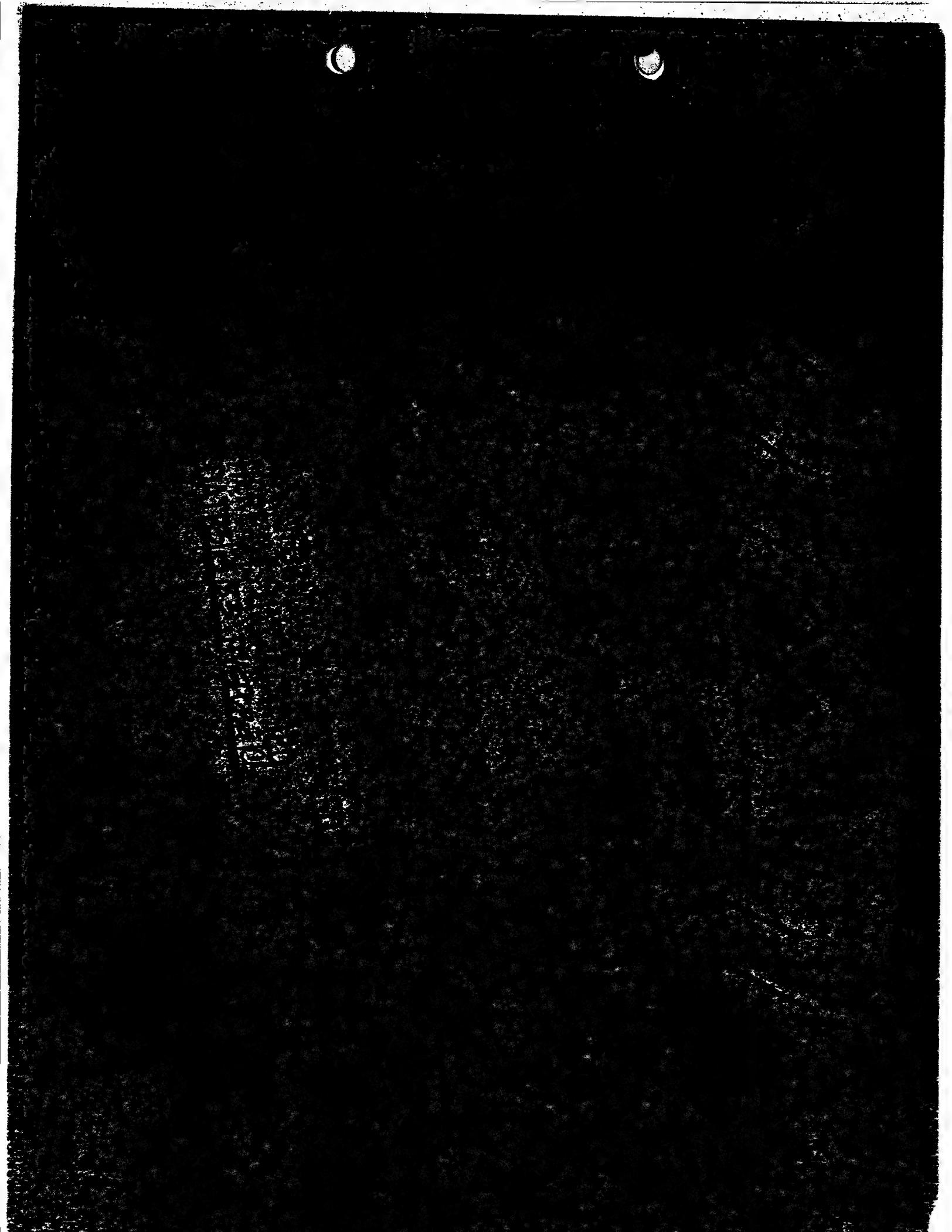
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37 DEC 31 1948  
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G. I. R. 1/2

63 JAN 12 1949  
G. I. R.

DEC 5 1949  
b7C



AMERICAN INSTITUTE OF PACIFIC RELATIONS, Inc.  
1 EAST 54TH STREET, NEW YORK 22, N. Y. ELDORADO 5-1759

(S)

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MR. BELMONT
MR. WELCH
MR. CONNELL
MR. COVINGTON
MR. DUNN
MR. ENRIGHT
MR. GOLDEAULT
MR. MONTGOMERY
INVESTIGATOR ADVISOR
MR. COYAN
MR. FANG
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PROPERTY CLERK
TRAINING UNIT

9th December, 1948

Federal Bureau of Investigation  
U. S. Court House Building  
Foley Square  
New York, N. Y.

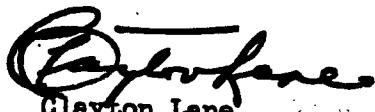
Dear Sirs:

Shortly after taking over the administrative direction of this Institute on October 1, I called on Mr. Murphy at your offices. I told him that I assumed your Bureau was aware of criticism of this organization and that I wished to state my own viewpoint and purposes as the new administrative officer in charge. Mr. Murphy made a note of my statement.

Since that call I have been very much concerned with the necessity to avoid grounds for reasonable criticism of this Institute, such as that published in "Counterattack" and "Plain Talk".

I enclose for your information and files three copies each of a personal letter to members, a letter to Trustees, a list of Trustees, and letters to "Counterattack" and "Plain Talk" for your New York and Washington files. I should be glad to provide any other information you may wish.

Sincerely yours,

  
Clayton Lane  
Executive Secretary

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60-17808  
FBI - NEW YORK  
DFC 13.1948

b7C

November 16, 1948

Dear Mr. Kohlberg,

Since I called on you last month, shortly after taking over as Executive Secretary of this Institute, I have given very careful consideration to your charges and misgivings about the American IPR, so far as they refer to the present and the recent past. As I assured you then, I fully share your aversion to Communism and your concern for the security of the United States. I have not found it possible, however, to share your impressions about the purposes and practices of this Institute.

I do not wish to enter into any controversy on the matter, nor will I do so. My concern is with the present and future of an organization for which I have great respect and with which I am very glad to be identified in a responsible position. My inquiries have been broadly based and I think they have been thorough. They have encountered some criticism of the American IPR but have disclosed no basis for wholesale condemnation of this Institute in the terms you have sometimes used. Like myself, some persons consulted disagreed with one or another writer of an article or book published by the IPR, or with views orally expressed by someone formerly in an administrative position. That does not distress me, for I sometimes feel that way myself about articles or editorials in reputable magazines and newspapers to which I continue to subscribe year after year because I want to read a variety of views, particularly on complex or controversial questions. In my former profession that was very necessary. I think it is for any American citizen.

In our conversation last month we discovered such a wide area of agreement about Communist and Soviet Russian purposes that I am very sorry we do not agree about the IPR. I enclose for your information a copy of my first informal and personal letter to members of the American IPR and subscribers to the FAR EASTERN SURVEY. It states in part my understanding of why the Institute exists and should continue to exist. I also enclose a copy of a letter to the publisher of "Counterattack."

Please accept my thanks for your good wishes for my success in assuring a useful future for this Institute. I have not written you sooner because I have taken the time necessary to give your views full consideration and to check them and my own with the opinions of many persons qualified to judge both the proper function of this Institute and the competence and loyalty of the staff and of writers now associated with it.

I face many challenging tasks in my new job, but I shall meet them, to the best of my ability, in full confidence that the special function of the IPR is more significant than it ever was before.

In my letter to members and FAR EASTERN SURVEY subscribers, I have asked for comment and counsel. They will be just as welcome from any other quarter, particularly from former members.

With best wishes and the hope that we may eventually find ourselves in full agreement, I remain

Sincerely yours,

Clayton Lane  
Executive Secretary

Mr. Alfred Kohlberg  
Publisher, "Plain Talk"  
240 Madison Avenue  
New York, N.Y.

11/1/48

BOARD OF TRUSTEES - AMERICAN INSTITUTE OF PACIFIC RELATIONS, INC.

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- Professor of History, Harvard University.  
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- Secretary, American Council of Learned Societies, Washington, D.C.  
- Frazer & Hansen Import-Export Company, San Francisco.  
- President, International General Electric Company, New York.  
- Author: "Men on Bataan"; "Into the Valley"; "Bell for Adano"; "Hiroshima".  
- President, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, New York.  
- Secretary-General, Institute of Pacific Relations.  
- Professor of Sociology, Yale University, New Haven.  
- Attorney: Graves, Kizer & Graves, Spokane.  
- Vice-President, Levi Strauss & Co., San Francisco.  
- American Hawaiian Steamship Company, San Francisco.

(over)

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  - Attorney: Little, Leader, LeSourd & Palmer, Seattle.
  - Assistant Director, School of Public and International Affairs, Princeton University.
  - Professor of Political Science, University of Idaho, Moscow, Idaho.
  - Professor of Political Science, University of Washington, Seattle.
  - Getz Brothers, Exporters, San Francisco.
  - President, Society of Independent Motion Picture Producers, Hollywood.
  - Associate Professor of International Relations, Yale University, New Haven.
  - President, University of Hawaii, Honolulu.
  - President, University of California.
  - Management-Employee Relations, Inc., New York.
  - Director, Far Eastern Institute, University of Washington, Seattle.
  - Professor of Comparative Education, Teachers College, Columbia University, New York.
  - Writer and commentator. Former Under Secretary of State.
  - President, Mills College, Oakland, California.
  - President, Wilbur-Ellis Company, San Francisco.
  - Chancellor, Stanford University, California.
  - Attorney: Anderson, Wrenn & Jenks, Honolulu.
  - Director, Chicago Council on Foreign Relations.
  - President, Crown Zellerbach Corporation, San Francisco.

\* - Member, Executive Committee, American I.P.R.

A PERSONAL LETTER FROM THE EXECUTIVE SECRETARY TO ALL MEMBERS OF THE AMERICAN INSTITUTE OF PACIFIC RELATIONS AND SUBSCRIBERS TO THE FAR EASTERN SURVEY

November 12, 1948

Dear American IPR Member or Subscriber:

At the end of my first month as Executive Secretary, I wish to extend my personal greetings to the many members of the American IPR and subscribers to the FAR EASTERN SURVEY whom I have not met, and to tell you something of my first impressions.

During this first month I have been studying the record and the present activities of the American Institute to discover how, in cooperation with the other National Councils of the IPR, we can be of greatest service in the future. It seems clear that there has never been greater need than now for authoritative research and discussion on the issues now at stake in the Pacific area.

This special Java issue of the FAR EASTERN SURVEY presents timely treatment of one of the most complex situations in Asia. It contains much material not hitherto published in the United States, with basic facts and expert comment by writers who were in Java when many of the events they report occurred. The SURVEY takes no editorial position on the situation reported.

This issue thus typifies a basic service of the IPR, the objective presentation of authoritative opinions on the Far East. The Institute itself expresses none. The paper's masthead states in each issue that the American IPR does not express opinions on public affairs, and that responsibility for statements of fact or opinion appearing in the FAR EASTERN SURVEY rests solely with the author. Our responsibility is to assure that such statements are from competent sources and that objectivity is maintained through balanced presentation of views in a reasonably broad cross-section of our publications.

Because they have sometimes not agreed with the facts or interpretations presented in SURVEY articles, some critics who would prefer to see social changes ignored have charged that the entire IPR is excessively radical in attitude. This criticism, when carried to extremes, reflects a misconception of our function, a denial that it is a legitimate function, or an effort to discredit the entire IPR in order to suppress the occasional publication of views with which they do not agree. We are dealing with an area in which revolution is rampant and the whole social order is changing. Articles on such an area and its problems are bound to be explosive at times, because they discuss events and ideas about which reasonable people well may differ.

Some SURVEY writers have pointed out at various times that social progress and political stability in various countries of Asia require basic economic and administrative reforms. When reforms are advocated by Communists, in China for example, non-Communists who may advocate similar ones are sometimes too readily labelled "Communists" even though they detest both the principles and practices of Communism. Neither this Institute nor any of its officers advocates or defends Communism or any other form of totalitarianism. We challenge anyone to prove that we do.

The Trustees and staff of the American IPR do believe that those who would uncritically simplify the problems of the Far East are asking for more trouble than objective frankness is likely to produce. Many of us are familiar with sentimental, superficial and sensational interpretations of Asia which do our friends there no good, solve no problems, and confuse the real issues in the minds of American readers. This Institute has a serious and responsible task, but it has no thesis to prove except that objective truth and the soundest bases of foreign policy are best disclosed through free discussion, a conception basic to the entire democratic process.

I am confident that members of the American IPR and other readers of the SURVEY and of our books will agree that these matters are properly the concern of this Institute. One of our most conservative Trustees says, "The IPR would have no reason for existence if we did not discuss complex subjects." One eminent Asian who has attended IPR international conferences and who reads the SURVEY, recently said that the IPR's greatest function is to provide a forum for competent advocates of diverse views about Asia.

The American IPR has sometimes been charged with lack of the objectivity it professes. So far as I can judge, these charges come chiefly from people who disagree with some viewpoint expressed in an article or book we have published, without taking fairly into account the great number and variety of IPR publications of which the offending item is only a small part. Such charges have often been examined and rejected as unproven and unreasonable by very able and responsible Trustees of the American IPR, such as Dr. Philip C. Jessup, now an official American spokesman in the United Nations and therefore no longer a Trustee. Another Trustee who only last month expressed complete confidence in our purposes and performance is President of one of the largest American industrial concerns doing business in the Far East. The check with which he accompanied this voluntary testimonial was equally generous and encouraging.

This conservative but realistic industrial leader has also emphatically reaffirmed his belief that the work of the IPR should be expanded on its traditional lines and that business and banking leaders of great responsibility should find time to read IPR publications and attend its discussion meetings and conferences. He thinks our services do not duplicate those of any other organization and he knows that we maintain close coordination with the Foreign Policy Association, the National Foreign Trade Council and other unofficial sources of information on foreign affairs, as well as with the Departments of State, Commerce, and Army.

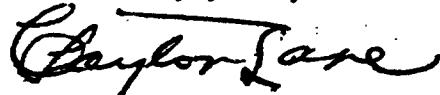
Many other outstanding American businessmen and bankers tell us that we are of great assistance in their task of foreseeing the shape of things to come. Most American scholars concerned with Asia assure us that the IPR is still the focal point of research and publication in their field, despite the considerable development of such research in American universities since the IPR was established.

Gerald Winfield's book, CHINA: THE LAND AND PEOPLE, will be published on December 7 by William Sloane Associates and the American IPR. Winfield brings to China's basic economic and social problems the fresh approach of a public health expert with a close knowledge of village life in China. His point of view is moderate, even conservative, but certainly not doctrinaire. As another instance of informed analysis of issues which Americans should understand, we are proud to be associated with this publication.

To be properly effective we must have more members and more subscribers, particularly more Contributing Members. May I ask you to show your confidence in the IPR by recruiting some, or by sending us the names of at least five good prospects? A membership or SURVEY subscription would be a complimentary and useful Christmas present.

I am proud to be associated with this Institute and with the superb staff here. You may expect me to do all I can to justify the confidence of our Chairman, Chancellor Ray Lyman Wilbur of Stanford, and of the Trustees who invited me here, and that of members and subscribers whose cooperation I now request for the difficult days ahead. I hope to meet most of you eventually. In the meantime I would appreciate a full and frank expression of your views. If you disagree with any particular article or the facts presented in it, by all means tell us.

Sincerely yours,



Clayton Lane  
Executive Secretary

P.S. I hope you have read Mr. Carter's report on his Asian tour in the October NEWS OF THE I.P.R. It is a reminder of how much my predecessor's great services to the IPR have done for Asian-American understanding, and that national matters can be properly understood only in relation to understanding the interests of our country in its international setting.

C  
O  
P  
Y

November 18, 1948

"Counterattack"  
55 West 42nd Street  
New York 18, N.Y.

Attention: Mr. Kirkpatrick

Dear Mr. Kirkpatrick:

I have read with much interest the issues of "Counterattack" you gave me when I called on you last month to request a frank statement of the basis for your criticism of the American Institute of Pacific Relations, of which I had just become Executive Secretary following my retirement from the Foreign Service of the United States.

I fully share the strong aversion to Communism expressed in "Counterattack," and your belief that Communist activities everywhere should be exposed when not readily apparent and understood by all Americans, and opposed wherever they threaten the security or vital interests of the United States. I have in fact been analyzing and opposing such Communist or Soviet Russian activities much longer than you have and on a much broader scale, as the Trustees of this Institute who offered me my present job were aware.

I cannot accept, however, as accurate or credible your published statement that the American Institute of Pacific Relations is a Communist-front organization. My very careful analysis has convinced me that it is not. I do not believe it ever was anything of the kind. Certainly it will not be under my direction.

Earlier and similar charges by another critic of this Institute were rejected as unproven and distorted by a committee of the American IPR Trustees under the chairmanship of Dr. Philip C. Jessup, long a Trustee of this Institute and now a vigorous critic of the Soviet Union in the American delegation to the United Nations. I find that that committee's conclusions were and are shared by many scholars, lawyers, and businessmen who have world-wide reputations for conservative judgment and integrity. A list of our present Trustees, showing their connections, is enclosed for your information.

Your published assertions about a few persons who are now connected with this Institute, chiefly as writers of articles or books or as research advisers, are contested or greatly qualified by others of at least equal authority with whom I have discussed them during the last month. I am not concerned with your views about others with no present or recent connection with the Institute of Pacific Relations.

If you now have actual evidence or a persistent belief that this Institute or any of its present officers or staff is connected with the Communist Party, or is engaged in any activity prejudicial to the American national

interest, will you please inform me in the fullest possible terms. I am determined, as are my Trustees and colleagues, that there shall be no reasonable basis for such charges as you have made. If you have no such proofs, or no strong basis for your conclusions in the absence of clear proof, you are making without sufficient grounds exceedingly harmful statements about an organization that is striving only for sound education on very important matters affecting the public interest. I do not think you would wish to do that. I am sure you will agree that mere difference of opinion on controversial questions is not proof of subversive intent or effect.

The Chairman of our Trustees, Chancellor Ray Lyman Wilbur of Stanford University, and the Vice-Chairman in New York with whom I have discussed your charges, approve my determination to clarify this situation.

It may be helpful in this connection to remind you that this Institute exists not to oppose or to support pre-conceived policies or ideas, but to assure so far as possible competent presentation and analysis of facts, in order that the truth may be found through selection. This is much more difficult than mere opposition to currently unattractive or basically unsound ideas. Your attention is invited to the masthead of the FAR EASTERN SURVEY, published fortnightly by this Institute, which states in each issue:

"The American Institute of Pacific Relations does not express opinions on public affairs. Responsibility for statements of fact or opinion appearing in the FAR EASTERN SURVEY rests solely with the authors. The editors are responsible for the selection and acceptance of articles."

Limitations of space require this statement to be brief, but it is certainly clear to any reasonable reader. With more space available this statement would be as explicit as that of FOREIGN AFFAIRS, published by the Council on Foreign Relations, which reads:

"The articles in FOREIGN AFFAIRS do not represent any consensus of beliefs. We do not expect that readers of the review will sympathize with all the sentiments they find there, for some of our writers will flatly disagree with others; but we hold that while keeping clear of mere vagaries FOREIGN AFFAIRS can do more to guide American public opinion by a broad hospitality to divergent ideas than it can by identifying itself with one school. It does not accept responsibility for the views expressed in any article, signed or unsigned, which appear in its pages. What it does accept is the responsibility for giving them a chance to appear there."

We subscribe to that more explicit interpretation of the proper function of such publications.

I am aware of the risk as well as the right of free speech in the present international tension, and have carefully examined all charges of bias in the treatment of various subjects by writers for the American IPR. Many

such charges refer to SURVEY articles on China. On that very complex subject there are many diverse views of equal or comparable authority and sincerity. Many experts do not now hold sympathetic or tolerant views on the Chinese Communists, which they expressed a year or more ago. In future we shall take special pains to assure balance and competence in articles on China, Japan and the Philippines, for example, but no amount of care will guarantee that everyone will be satisfied. We may not always obtain just the article we want, or when we would best like to have it to assure short-term balance.

Some readers object to the presentation of any views but the ones they themselves hold at the moment, but many experts on the Far East, including scholars, officials, and businessmen, tell me they do not require or desire that everything published by the IPR express their own version. They want variety and authority, and demand beyond that only a reasonably balanced fare. That is what the editor and I shall make every effort to provide, no doubt including some interpretations with which the editor or myself do not personally agree but which we think warrant presentation for one reason or another. The reader will presumably believe what he finds on balance to be most credible. But the editor and I will approve nothing for publication which seems to us likely to "give aid and comfort" to any enemy of the United States or to be provocative to no good purpose.

I enclose a copy of a recent informal and personal letter from myself to members of the American IPR and to subscribers to the FAR EASTERN SURVEY\* which states my position in general terms. I cannot believe that you will wish to challenge it or that you will continue to label this Institute as a Communist-front organization.

You are concerned with exposing what Communists and Soviet Russia are doing. That is necessary, but it should by now have become incidental to an effort to discover what answer to Communism will be given by the Western world, particularly by the United States. I propose to see what this Institute can do about that regarding Asia. Our inquiries will be more concerned with finding that answer than with sparing the feelings of the timid.

Disclosure and protest is not enough. We Americans must somehow find the positive answers to Communism. If we do not find them and apply them effectively in Asia, the Russians may eventually have most of it securely on their side at great hazard to us. Food and guns have not provided the answer in China; perhaps much more of both would not have provided it.

Your emphasis is on defeating Communist and Soviet purposes in the United States. Our emphasis will be on Asia with the same end in view, a much more complex and urgent task. It seems to me reasonable to suggest that your paper now give ours some support. You might, for example, tell your readers that the FAR EASTERN SURVEY of November 17, a copy of which is enclosed, contains the most complete report yet published on the recent Communist revolt in Java. That revolt failed, but the SURVEY articles show clearly the sort of situation in which Communism will eventually flourish unless basic means of improving it are found. As Barbara Ward says, "Successful Communist propaganda is far more a fruit of Western

(\*- This letter was sent to Members with their copy of the FAR EASTERN SURVEY of November 17.)

failure than of Soviet effort. Like an infection, communism seeks out the infected patches - destitution, bad race relations, injustice, hopelessness - and there it can settle and ferment. The healthy community has nothing to fear."

We blocked the Russians in Europe by taking the initiative away from them, showing that democracy can be positive. We must have a positive program in Asia. This Institute is not a policy-planning organization. It is reputed, however, to have provided more materials on which to base policy in Asia than any other organization in the world. It will continue to provide them. The Department of State particularly wants us to.

On December 7 we will publish, with William Sloane Associates, Inc., Gerald F. Winfield's "China: the Land and the People." I shall send you a copy. I suggest you read this book, to discover what I at least think mirrors a major function of the IPR: expert, lucid, timely presentation of basic facts on an important aspect of Asia. Read particularly Winfield's comments on the Chinese Communists in his last chapter. If you agree that this book is a very important and extraordinarily readable contribution, why not say so in "Counterattack"? We want this book widely read among the businessmen who read your paper. They will know a lot about the problem in China when they finish it.

I am grateful for your good wishes for success in a job which I think the most important as well as the most difficult I have ever undertaken. I hope this letter will confirm to your satisfaction the assurances about my own point of view I have given you orally.

With every good wish for your own success in combatting Communism where it is necessary, I remain

Sincerely yours,

Clayton Lane  
Executive Secretary

AMERICAN INSTITUTE OF PACIFIC RELATIONS, INC.

1 EAST 54TH STREET, NEW YORK 22, N. Y. ELDORADO 5-1780

November 30, 1948

TO THE CHAIRMAN AND TRUSTEES OF THE  
AMERICAN INSTITUTE OF PACIFIC RELATIONS:

The enclosed copy of a letter to the publishers of "Counterattack", a processed news-sheet devoted to "facts to combat communism," is provided for your information before being circulated to some members and potential members of the American IPR who have been concerned about charges in that paper that this Institute is a communist-front organization. As you know, such charges have had a serious effect on the general repute of the IPR.

I have found that our efforts to sustain, and shortly to increase, membership and financial contributions must include clarification and some rectification of the Institute's position, purpose and connections. I have therefore sought to persuade the publishers of "Counterattack", the most objective of our critics, that they are in some respects mistaken and in others given to excessive exaggeration or suspicion. Displaying the objectivity I request of them, I have tried to examine thoroughly the statements they have made about the IPR. Some of their charges are receiving very careful consideration.

I am happy to report that I believe Mr. Kirkpatrick and his colleagues are sincere and open to conviction. There is much reason to expect that the handicap of this criticism, and perhaps that of some other critics of the IPR, will be removed by both persuasion and performance before long and that I may then give my entire attention to positive programs of research, publication and conference, and to obtaining the budget necessary to implement them.

This matter is brought to the attention of the Trustees chiefly because some of them are so loyal to the American IPR that they have perhaps underestimated the necessity to make an end of a kind of criticism which has vitally affected the usefulness of this Institute and has seriously raised the question whether it can survive. Such loyalty, and the reasons for it in the record of IPR accomplishment in the past, are a constant inspiration to me. I am very glad to report that it is now shared by many persons who had wavered because of charges such as those in "Counterattack" or their own similar conclusions about the American IPR quite apart from such charges.

The outlook is encouraging, but it is clear that cause for fresh criticism of the kind hitherto made must be very carefully avoided. There will always be critics of any objective and courageous organization that seeks the truth and lays it on the line. We must, however, avoid grounds for argument that we are not practicing the objectivity we profess and keep in mind the extreme delicacy of some controversial questions which demand attention in our publications. It is particularly gratifying to report to you that I am receiving very marked cooperation from officers of the Department of State and others in Washington concerned with Asia. Their emphasis on the importance of continuing the traditional work of the American IPR is strong and explicit. Areas and topics of research have been fruitfully discussed with them. Strong criticism of the Institute in the State Department has given way to a very different atmosphere. I shall continue to give this very important contact my personal attention.

It is respectfully suggested that letters of opinion and counsel from our Trustees are very helpful. Some recently received present a diversity and some conflict of ideas but are nonetheless helpful in charting the course.

Sincerely yours,



Clayton Lane  
Executive Secretary

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Director, FBI  
FROM : SAC, New York  
SUBJECT: AMERICAN INSTITUTE OF  
PACIFIC RELATIONS, INC.  
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

DATE: January 7, 1949

Submitted herewith for the files of the Bureau, is  
a "Notice of Annual Meeting of Members, February 15, 1949".

This notice lists the names of proposed Trustees.

b7E  
  
For information.

ENCL ATTACHED

Encl. - 1

3/15/83  
Classified by SP890/CB  
Declassify on: OSOR

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED EXCEPT  
WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 12/83 BY SP890/CB

RECORDED - 28 100-64700-92  
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100-17808

13 JAN 11 1949

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

62 JAN 17 1949

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ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 3/5/83 BY SP/DR/PL

100-64760-92

December 30, 1948

AMERICAN INSTITUTE OF PACIFIC RELATIONS, INC.

**NOTICE OF ANNUAL MEETING OF MEMBERS, FEBRUARY 15, 1949**

The Annual Meeting of the American Institute of Pacific Relations, Inc., will be held at five P.M. on Tuesday, February 15, 1949, at the National Office, One East Fifty-fourth Street, New York, for the election of Trustees and for action upon such other matters as may properly come before the said meeting.

The following page contains the ballot for the election of the Trustees, listing nominations presented by the National Nominating Committee in accordance with the By-laws.

Preceding the ballot is a formal proxy which you are asked to sign and return promptly together with the ballot. Your proxy or proxies will cast your vote in accordance with the instructions contained in your returned ballot. In some categories, the number of nominees exceeds the number to be elected from that category. It will be necessary therefore for you to indicate your choice by a check placed in front of each name for which you wish to vote. Your instructions will be followed but if you indicate no choice, or if you vote for less than the entire number permissible in any category, then (unless you instruct to the contrary) your proxies' vote will be cast in favor of the names checked, if any, and for such of the nominees as they, or either of them, may in their discretion determine. For your convenience there is enclosed an addressed, prepaid envelope.

Only members of the Institute who are citizens of the United States have voting privileges.

**CLAYTON LANE**  
Executive Secretary

PROXY

**FOR ANNUAL MEETING OF MEMBERS, Tuesday, February 15, 1949**

THE UNDERSIGNED MEMBER of the American Institute of Pacific Relations, Inc., revoking any previous proxies given for such meeting, hereby constitutes and appoints Katrine R. C. Greene and Donald B. Straus, each of them, the true and lawful attorneys, agents and proxies of the undersigned, with full power of substitution and revocation to each of them, to vote, as the attorneys, agents and proxies of the undersigned at the Annual Meeting of the members of the American Institute of Pacific Relations, Inc., a membership corporation of the District of Columbia, to be held at the National Office of said American Institute of Pacific Relations, One East Fifty-fourth Street, New York, at five P.M., Tuesday, February 15, 1949, and at any adjournment of the said meeting, for the election of the trustees of the American Institute of Pacific Relations, Inc., whose names appear on the accompanying ballot, to hold office beginning February 15, 1949, to designate the trustees who are to fill out unexpired terms, and to vote upon any other matters that may properly come before the said meeting or any adjournment thereof, with all powers which the undersigned would possess if personally present, hereby ratifying and confirming all that the said attorneys, agents and proxies, or either of them, who shall be present and act at the said meeting, or their substitute or substitutes may lawfully do in or about the premises by virtue hereof. If no choice, or less than the entire number permissible, is indicated in any category contained in the ballot, the vote of the undersigned is to be cast for those named, if any, and in favor of such of the nominees as the proxies, or either of them or their substitutes, may in their discretion determine.

IN WITNESS WHEREOF the undersigned has executed this instrument under seal  
the \_\_\_\_\_ day of \_\_\_\_\_, 1949.

(L.S.)

BALLOT

FOR THE ELECTION OF TRUSTEES TO HOLD OFFICE FOR  
THREE YEARS (UNLESS OTHERWISE INDICATED) BEGINNING  
FEBRUARY 15, 1949

In accordance with the By-laws, each member, regardless of geographical division, is entitled to vote for the Trustees to be elected from every division. Accordingly, each member is asked to designate his or her choices under all the categories indicated below.

The following nominations have been presented by the Nominating Committee in consultation with the region concerned, but spaces have been provided for any other person or persons for whom the members may prefer to vote. Brief biographical notes on each candidate will be found on the next page. An asterisk (\*) indicates the nominee is at present a member of the Board.

Hawaii

Vote for FOUR

- G. W. FISHER  
 FRANK E. MIDKIFF  
 JAMES H. SHOEMAKER  
 HEATON L. WRENN\*  
 \_\_\_\_\_

New York

Vote for FOUR only

- LINCOLN C. BROWNELL\*  
 JOSEPH P. CHAMBERLAIN\*  
 BROOKS EMENY\*  
 L. CARRINGTON GOODRICH\*  
 CLAYTON LANE  
 \_\_\_\_\_

Pacific Northwest

Vote for THREE

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 RICHARD E. FULLER  
 REGINALD H. PARSONS  
 \_\_\_\_\_

Not Otherwise Designated

Vote for EIGHT only

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 KNIGHT BIGGERSTAFF\*  
 WILLIAM L. HOLLAND\*  
 RAYMOND KENNEDY\*  
 BENJAMIN H. KIZER\*  
 LEWIS A. LAPHAM\*  
 WILLIAM W. LOCKWOOD\*  
 SHEPARD MORGAN  
 DAVID NELSON ROWE\*  
 \_\_\_\_\_

Washington, D.C.

Vote for FOUR

- JOSEPH W. BALLANTINE  
 EMMET O'NEAL  
 EDMUND A. WALSH, S.J.  
 SUMNER WELLES\*  
 \_\_\_\_\_

(One of the Washington nominees will be designated to fill a term expiring in 1951.)

(One of the Not Otherwise Designated Nominees will be designated to fill a term expiring in 1951.)

BRIEF BIOGRAPHICAL NOTES

- ALLEN, RAYMOND B. - President, University of Washington, Seattle. Formerly, Dean, College of Medicine, University of Illinois. Chairman, Pacific Northwest Division, American IPR.
- BALLANTINE, JOSEPH W. - Brookings Institution, Washington, D.C. Formerly, Director, Office of Far Eastern Affairs, Department of State, and Special Assistant to the Secretary of State.
- BELTZ, EDWARD W. - Geologist, Standard-Vacuum Oil Company, New York. Geological work in many countries, including 12 years in Netherlands Indies, 1½ years in the Philippines, 4 trips to Western China in last six years.
- BIGGERSTAFF, KNIGHT - Chairman, Department of Far Eastern Studies, Cornell University, Ithaca, New York.
- BROWNELL, LINCOLN C. - Attorney: Sullivan & Cromwell, New York. Air Attaché, U. S. Embassy, Chungking, 1942-44.
- CHAMBERLAIN, JOSEPH P. - Professor of Public Law, Columbia University, New York.
- EMENY, BROOKS - President, Foreign Policy Association, New York. Formerly, President, Cleveland Council on World Affairs.
- FISHER, G. W. - Executive Vice-President, Bishop Trust Company, Ltd.; Director: American Factors, Ltd., and Hawaiian Electric Co., Ltd. Chairman, Hawaii Group, American IPR.
- FULLER, RICHARD E. - Director, Seattle Art Museum; extensive experience in Asia as an art collector.
- GOODRICH, L. CARRINGTON - Chairman, Department of Chinese and Japanese, Columbia University, New York.
- HOLLAND, WILLIAM L. - Secretary-General, Institute of Pacific Relations.
- KENNEDY, RAYMOND - Professor of Sociology, Yale University. Author: "The Ageless Indies". Formerly, General Motors representative in the Netherlands Indies.
- KIZER, BENJAMIN H. - Attorney: Graves, Kizer & Graves, Spokane. Chief, UNRRA Mission to China, 1944-46.
- LANE, CLAYTON - Executive Secretary, American IPR. Twenty years' experience in U.S. Foreign Service in Europe, South Africa, Near East, India, and Washington.
- LAPHAM, LEWIS A. - President, American Hawaiian Steamship Company.
- LOCKWOOD, WILLIAM W. - Assistant Director, School of Public and International Affairs, Princeton University. Former Secretary, American IPR.
- MIDKIFF, FRANK E. - Trustee: Bernice P. Bishop Estate, Kamehameha Schools, and Punahoa School; Executive Secretary, Community Affairs Division, Chamber of Commerce; Royal Danish Consul in Honolulu.
- MORGAN, SHEPARD - Vice-President, Chase National Bank of the City of New York.
- O'NEAL, EMMET - Attorney. U. S. Ambassador to the Philippines. Member, U. S. House of Representatives, 1935-47.
- PARSONS, REGINALD H. - President, Parsons Investment Company, Seattle. Director: Northern Life Insurance Company, Seattle Trust and Savings Bank. Member, National Advisory Council of Boy Scouts of America.
- ROWE, DAVID NELSON - Associate Professor of International Relations, Yale University.
- SHOEMAKER, JAMES H. - Chairman, Department of Economics and Business, University of Hawaii (on leave - with National Security Resources Board, Washington, D.C.)
- WALSH, REV. EDMUND A., S.J. - Regent, School of Foreign Service, Georgetown University, Washington, D.C.
- WELLES, SUMNER - Journalist. Former Under Secretary of State.
- WRENN, HEATON L. - Attorney: Anderson, Wrenn & Jenks, Honolulu. Treasurer, Hawaii Group, American IPR.

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Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

1st TO  
*[Signature]*

Director, FBI

SAC, New York

SUBJECT: INSTITUTE OF PACIFIC RELATIONS  
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

DATE: January 14, 1949

Submitted herewith for the Bureau's files, is a letter dated January 7, 1949; a copy of the "Far Eastern Survey", January 12, 1949 and a Index to the "Survey" for 1948.

b7E

This is submitted for information purposes.

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Encls. (3) — { "Far E. Survey"  
and  
Index for 1948 } Detached & Sent to Publications. — J.B.  
*J*

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58 JAN 27 1949

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AMERICAN INSTITUTE OF PACIFIC RELATIONS, INC.

1 EAST 54TH STREET, NEW YORK 22, N. Y. ELDORADO 5-1759

January 7, 1949

DEAR AMERICAN IPR MEMBER OR SUBSCRIBER:

This issue of the FAR EASTERN SURVEY carries a new name on its masthead. Many members and subscribers will find it a familiar one, however. The new Editor, Miriam S. Farley, was a Research Associate of the American IPR from 1934 to 1946 and was a frequent contributor to the SURVEY. She was Acting Editor in 1937-38 and 1944, has edited many IPR research publications, and was Editor of Pamphlets from 1941-46. She contributed a volume to the IPR Inquiry Series, and attended the IPR international conferences of 1936, 1939, 1942 and 1945.

Miss Farley was on the staff of the Supreme Commander in Japan in 1946-47 and has since written a study of labor in post-war Japan to be published by the International Secretariat, IPR. She is now preparing a study of American post-war Far Eastern policy as part of the international research program. We are very fortunate to have Miss Farley as Editor of the SURVEY.

The services of Philip E. Lilienthal as senior editor of the SURVEY for several months, in addition to editing PACIFIC AFFAIRS, are acknowledged with more appreciation than our space can record.

The increasingly responsible work of Elizabeth Converse is recognized by elevation from Editorial Assistant to Assistant Editor. I am joining Mr. Rosinger and Miss Greene on the Editorial Board with a lively awareness of my responsibilities in helping to provide SURVEY readers with significant articles of traditional IPR quality.

Together, and with the very helpful cooperation of many others consulted, we mean to make 1949 a particularly good year for the SURVEY. We hope its present readers will help us find more.

Sincerely yours,

*Clayton Lane*  
Clayton Lane  
Executive Secretary

100-64780-93

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# Office Memorandum

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UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Director, FBI  
FROM : SAC, New York  
SUBJECT: INSTITUTE OF PACIFIC RELATIONS  
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

DATE: January 28, 1949

b7E Submitted herewith is a copy of the "Near Eastern Survey", dated  
January 24, 1949.

For information.

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# Far Eastern Survey

AMERICAN INSTITUTE OF PACIFIC RELATIONS

## THE SHADOW OF THE OPEN DOOR

BY PAUL H. CLYDE

MANY CURRENT DISCUSSIONS of our relations with China are heavily weighted, as is quite natural, with judgments as to what we must do right now. There are opinions on this question to suit any taste, ranging from those which would have us take over China with an American army to those that would have us withdraw completely so that the Chinese may lie in their own or a Russian bed. Somewhere in this array of conflicting and confusing opinion there are undoubtedly proposals of real value, and it would seem that our first task is to discover those judgments which rest upon a careful and balanced use of *all* the evidence upon which sensible opinions can be based.

Thus far in the public debate we have given almost exclusive attention to that portion of the evidence which is concerned with immediate tensions between the United States and Russia. This is understandable, and in a measure it is proper, but it does not go far enough. For one thing it tends to blind us to whatever light our history may have to throw on the problem of finding not merely an immediate but, more important, a long-range view of our purposes in China. Fortunately the history of the United States contains a revealing chapter of experience on the business of dealing with China. If we are concerned about what we should and can do in and toward China today, it would hardly seem reasonable to detach this concern from the experience of our past. While the past will not provide a complete prescription for the present, it does reveal the foundations on which the present and the future of American policy must be built.

From a September day back in 1899 when John Hay set forth on paper some ideas which he felt should con-

trol all the major powers in their dealings with China, down to Pearl Harbor on December 7, 1941, no discussion of the position of the United States *vis-à-vis* China which laid any claim to historical relevancy failed to dwell at length upon two major and interrelated principles of American policy—first, the Open Door in China, and second, the territorial integrity and the administrative entity of China. In round numbers, these Siamese twins of American policy are now half a century old by any conservative calculation. In reality, they are far older than this. Indeed, their birth would appear to date from the middle years of the nineteenth century. At all events, disregarding precise dates of origin, the point to be noted is that for at least half a century (actually much longer) official American thought on the subject of China has derived whatever vitality it possessed from these two basic principles.

JANUARY 24, 1949 VOL. XVIII NO. 2

### THE SHADOW OF THE OPEN DOOR

by Paul H. Clyde

Our historic attitudes toward China and their bearing on United States China policy today.

### DISPATCH FROM INDONESIA

by George McT. Kahin

An eyewitness report of the recent Dutch attack on Jogjakarta.

### JAPAN'S NEW POLICE LAW

by Ralph J. D. Braibanti

Drastic reorganization is taking place within a system which once symbolized the power of the Japanese state.

Mr. Clyde is Professor of History at Duke University and author of *The Far East: A History of the Impact of the West on Eastern Asia*.

Do these principles still apply today? Are they still to be counted as American objectives? Are they still applicable as policies? How do the circumstances that surround their application today compare with circumstances of the past?

### The Trader and the Diplomat

The fact that these principles have been so persistent and hallowed by age involves no particular mystery. Translated into the language of practical politics, the two principles were neither academic and doctrinaire nor solely a product of idealism. The Open Door was a favorite child of the American business man and trader. To him it meant that his merchandise would receive non-discriminatory treatment in a weak China where his own government exercised an exceedingly limited influence, if any at all. The second principle—China's integrity—was the child of the statesman rather than the trader. Its basic reason for being was that the China of 1898, and often thereafter, seemed on the verge of becoming a huddle of European colonies. Since colonialism and free markets did not go hand in hand, there was but one course for American statesmanship if the China market was not to be lost to American trade. That course was to nourish China's integrity and thereby to preserve an open door for American commerce. This principle of China's integrity was particularly popular with an American public which, it must be confessed, knew very little about China but was inclined to regard itself as peculiarly well disposed toward the Chinese people.

It will be noted that the two inseparable and interdependent principles of policy were expressions of two realistic American interests, the one commercial, the other political. These, to be sure, have not been the only real interests of Americans and their government in China, as a glance at the history of Christian missions would indicate. Nevertheless it would appear that religious, cultural, and intellectual interests have not been the primary determinants in the shaping of policy, although at times they have exerted a significant influence. In a word, historic American policy has been essentially commercial and political. Within these limited spheres it has usually enjoyed the general approval of the American people, although it may be doubted whether it was ever regarded by them as a first line of diplomatic, much less of military, defense. Certainly, in the present crisis in China, Americans may well look to this past record as one guide in their analysis of the demands of the present. Do the Siamese twins bear as understandable a relationship to American interests today as they did in the time of John Hay? Have the Open Door and the integrity of China grown or shrunk in their stature or in their usefulness? Are they applicable now or are they to be regarded as outmoded instruments?

The business of providing answers to these large and compelling questions is not within the scope of this article. The purpose here is rather to set forth briefly some observations on the manner in which our policies have been applied in the past, and upon the altered circumstances in which they must operate if they are to be applied in the present and the future.

Viewed in historical perspective, the application of our China policy has been remarkable in three respects. The first is that, in principle, the United States has been a staunch champion of the Open Door and the integrity of China. The second is that at no time since 1898 has a thorough-going Open Door been achieved in practice. The policy has always been nullified to whatever extent sphere-holding powers claimed and exercised monopolistic practices within their spheres. Moreover, the continuous existence of foreign naval leaseholds within China has been an actual infringement (even if not so regarded in legal theory) of China's integrity. The third point is that there has sometimes been a willingness on the part of the United States to compromise with the two basic principles of policy—as when, in 1900-1902, Hay himself became an unsuccessful concession hunter. In addition, the same tendency to compromise is notable in numerous diplomatic exchanges exemplified by the Root-Takahira (1908) and the Lansing-Ishii (1917) notes. Both exchanges were so worded as to leave room for diametrically opposed interpretations, the one a confirmation of the Open Door, the other a negation of it. Moreover, it has often been said, and with some justification, that although the United States might claim to have sponsored the doctrines of the Open Door and China's integrity, their application often tended to be a matter of British rather than of American influence.

### U. S. Support Limited

These limitations upon policy in practice have not always been recognized with the frankness characteristic of Theodore Roosevelt. It was in 1910 that he described the Open Door to his successor William Howard Taft as "an excellent thing." He hoped that it might be a good thing for the future, but he warned Taft that the Open Door would disappear in the future, as it had in the past, whenever a powerful nation, bent on disregarding it, was prepared to risk war rather than abandon its intention. What Roosevelt predicted in 1910 came to pass with astonishing fidelity in the ten years following Japan's invasion of Manchuria in 1931. The Open Door and China's integrity vanished for the precise reason which Roosevelt had mentioned, namely, that the United States in its support of the doctrines was limited to achieving general diplomatic agreement. Neither the Nine-Power Treaty of 1922 nor the so-called Stimson Doctrine of non-recognition in 1932 preserved

the Open Door or China's integrity when Japan decided to disregard these principles. The point to be observed is that war came in 1941 not when Japan destroyed the basic principles of American policy toward China but when Japan attacked American territory. Theodore Roosevelt's reputation as a prophet thereby gained added luster.

It would be a mistake, however, to dispose of the two principles as wholly ineffective. It is clear that during most of the twentieth century they acted as a restraint upon the powers and helped to keep alive the ideals of free enterprise and of China's nationhood at times when both were in danger even as they are today.

### New Circumstances

A realistic view of current policy, however, will consider not only these limitations from the past but also the changed circumstances of the present in which the doctrines must operate. Whatever the present value of the two doctrines may be, it is clear that their enforcement, if desirable, is something which cannot be left, as was once the case, to British influence. The full import of this shift in the historical picture can hardly be said to have matured in the American mind.

Moreover, British retirement from Asia is not the only shift in the historical picture. In the time of John Hay, the Open Door was a doctrine which the powers applied to China. Since 1922 it has become a doctrine to which China (the subject of the doctrine) has subscribed. The doctrine is no longer unilateral. It may still be American policy but it must likewise be Chinese policy if it is to be applied in a sovereign and independent China.

There are other facts, too, which would seem to pre-

clude a unilateral approach to our traditional China doctrines. Until a comparatively few years ago the western world lost very little sleep worrying about the political theory or the political structure of Chinese society. Throughout the nineteenth and much of the twentieth century, political China could be summed up as a society that was authoritarian and bureaucratic resting on a Confucian ethic. Government, whatever else it might be, was assuredly not by the people. In most political matters, the bulk of China's millions were not participants but spectators. While this may still be true in some major degree, the public consciousness of China's people has experienced a vast awakening. The products of this awakening are an infant nationalism and patriotism which, if too young to be described in detail, are sufficiently virile to make their presence unmistakable. It may be suggested therefore that while the old principles of the Open Door and of China's integrity could be and were often enunciated and applied without consulting China, present and future applications of these doctrines must take greater account of China's nationhood and sovereignty. Doctrines which proclaim China's integrity cannot be applied with good grace by returning her to a status of semi-colonialism.

### The Balance of Power

Moreover, if American principles must be applied in a new nationalistic China, they are also faced with a new type of balance of power playing upon China. At the close of the nineteenth century, the balance of power structure in the Far East was diverse in that it represented the constantly shifting pressures of all the great powers. Probably the most potent factor in precluding the break-up of China at the turn of the century was mutual jealousies of the great powers. In general the old equilibrium of power prevailed until the end of World War I and the emergence of Japan into a position of unrivaled advantage. The balance of power was thereby destroyed. In the years that followed, Japan could and did restrict or nullify the Open Door and China's integrity in so far as it served her interests to do so. This kind of thing could conceivably happen again if no balance of power is preserved. Now the balance of power structure has again changed. The equilibrium rests not on a diverse balance, but on concentrated pressures from two sources—the United States and the Soviet Union. Many elements in this new balance are contemporary versions of an older historical heritage, such as Russian influence or control in Outer Mongolia, Manchuria, and North Korea. American influence, which makes up the other arm of the balance, represents forces whose application is less predictable because they lack the historical precedent or tradition from which the Russian advance is in part derived. This is one of the reasons why our difficulties in applying

#### NEW IPR PUBLICATIONS

The following studies, issued under the auspices of the International Secretariat, will be available in February from the IPR Publications Office, 1 East 54th Street, New York 22:

**PROSPECTS FOR DEMOCRACY IN JAPAN.** By T. A. Bisson. New York: Macmillan. 143 pp. \$2.75.  
A brief appraisal of occupation policies and achievements.

**FRONTIER LAND SYSTEMS IN SOUTHERNMOST CHINA.** By Chen Han-seng. 156 pp., mimeo. \$2.00.  
A comparative study of agrarian problems and social organization in Yunnan and Sikang.

**JAPAN'S TEXTILE INDUSTRY.** By John R. Stewart. About 80 pp., mimeo. \$1.25.  
Including the text of an ECAFE report on the textile industry in nine Far Eastern countries.

policy to China are more pernicious than those that face the Russians.

Finally, it is to be noted that China's contemporary revolution appears to be social as well as political. If this be true, then American policy cannot ignore so vital a change and yet hope to succeed. Here again the historical heritage is of interest. As already noted, our traditional doctrines relative to China were essentially political and commercial. In this form they may have been adequate for the China of that day, but it is by no means so certain that the old doctrines can be serviceable in the same limited form today. The Open Door and the principle of integrity can make sense now only in so far as they can be fitted into a new social-revolutionary and nationalistic China. This is the crux of our China problem. The ironic commentary is that there should be any problem at all. The United States has long regarded itself as the traditional friend of China. This country has been the champion of doctrines that assert China's commercial freedom and her political independence. During the twentieth century, China's spokesmen have often been loud in their praise of our behavior. Yet in the year 1949 the gulf that separates the Chinese and the American people in terms of mutual understanding would seem to be growing wider. The old doctrines are failing not because they are necessarily less valid than they were in the time of John Hay but because we as a people have not wrestled with the task of modernizing them to the end that they should be serviceable in a new China.

What has been said here by way of a brief excursion into the history of our relations with China bears directly upon our problem in and toward China today. History, of course, does not support the notion that the future can be blue-printed from the past, but it does support the idea that the lessons of the past have positive value and that they cannot be ignored with impunity. Our past experience in the Far East is the most tangible and valuable evidence at our disposal. We can look at it with a perspective that is not distorted by the crises and the fears of the moment. Indeed, the current crises and fears reflect a very real danger. For instance there is a danger that China will again become a mere battlefield for foreign powers as Manchuria was in the days of the Russo-Japanese War. The evidence is clear that we need to be prepared to meet this eventuality because there is not now in Asia anyone to fight our battles for us. However, this matter of fighting is only one, and perhaps not the most important point revealed by the evidence. It is instructive to recall, however, that back in 1904 there was a generation of Americans who believed that Japan was fighting our battle in Asia for us. It was the battle for the Open Door, one of the Siamese twins of our policy, and, as if to prove that there is coincidence, the enemy in that battle was Russia.

The evidence goes on to relate that Japan won whatever military victory there was in the Russo-Japanese War. For a time she eliminated the influence of Russia in China, but in the more important business of getting along with China, Japan's failure was colossal. This Japanese failure forms a part of the historical evidence which Americans might well examine with great care. The essential features of this record are quite clear and they are not in dispute. Japan ignored China's aspirations to national independence; she fostered Confucian traditionalism at a time when the most vital elements in Chinese life were attempting to discard it; and, in her plans for China's future, she apparently forgot that eighty percent of China's millions were peasants—the victims of a quarter century of civil war and warlordism. To put the matter in other words, Japan's rulers appear to have believed that their own favorite ideas, regardless of what the Chinese might think of them, could be foisted upon China by force. That Japanese experiment did not turn out very well, at least not for Japan. Furthermore, the record is clear that Japan failed to frighten or to buy into her service any Chinese leadership which the Chinese as a people would accept or follow.

These are merely a few samplings of the historical evidence available to all who are concerned about the fabrication of our China policy. During the nineteenth century, we could afford the luxury of being uninformed on the history of our record in Asia. That luxury is now beyond our means.

## DISPATCH FROM INDONESIA

Batavia

December 27, 1948

ON DECEMBER 15, 1948, the United Nations Committee of Good Offices arrived in Jogjakarta and immediately proceeded to its quarters at the hill resort of Kaliurang, some fifteen miles away. The Committee's arrival was greeted with deep relief by the people of Jogjakarta. Its presence in Kaliurang was felt to be 100 percent insurance against another Dutch attack upon the Republic during the three-week period that it was scheduled to stay there. President Sukarno felt that he could safely leave his country and accept Pandit Nehru's invitation to visit India in order to strengthen the relations between the latter country and Indonesia.<sup>1</sup> For the same reason the T.N.I. (Indonesian National Army) felt that this was the one time that it could hold full-scale maneuvers without fear of being caught off balance by a Dutch attack.

Between 3:00 and 4:00 a.m. on Sunday, December 19, Dutch paratroops landed in the neighborhood of Jogjakarta and cut the city's telephone communications

<sup>1</sup> This information was communicated to the writer in a talk with President Sukarno on December 12, 1948.

with areas outside. About 5:30 a.m. Jogjakarta was shaken by the heavy explosion of the first bomb to fall on Maguo airfield, located some five miles northeast of the city. Many more bombs fell, and shortly thereafter about 100 dummy parachutists were dropped in the vicinity of the airport. These immediately drew fire from the small force of Indonesians stationed there and indicated their positions to the Dutch, who promptly bombed this opposition out of existence. Thereafter the Dutch landed several hundred real parachutists. After these had taken up defensive positions, forty-six Dakota transports brought in some 900 Dutch Commando troops.<sup>2</sup> With the Indonesian army on maneuvers and caught off balance, the Dutch had little opposition to overcome in the five-mile stretch that separated them from Jogjakarta. Even so, it was not until 2:00 p.m. that they reached the outskirts of the city, and not until 4:00 p.m. did they penetrate to its center. On one block six Indonesian security troops armed with rifles held up a platoon of heavily-armed Dutch and Amboinese Commandos for thirty minutes.<sup>3</sup>

Numerous objectives within the city were bombed by Mitchell bombers and attacked by the rocket, cannon, and machine-gun fire of P-51's, P-40's and Spitfires. These attacks continued with varying intensity from a little before 7:00 a.m. until about 2:00 p.m., reaching their apogee during the last hour, just before Dutch troops entered the city. During these attacks the city's population remained calm and orderly, and for the most part stayed indoors. The Indonesian security guards who remained behind to insure order had nothing to do until contact was made with the Dutch, when they fought a short rear-guard action. Those few people

who attempted to use the streets were soon stopped by strafing attacks from airplanes which did not hesitate to attack the streets at right angles, thereby shooting many bullets into the houses.

It had never been the plan of the Indonesian army to defend Jogjakarta in case of a Dutch attack. It was reckoned that the cost in civilian lives could not possibly justify such a tactic. Indonesian plans called for an immediate withdrawal of the main body of the army out of the plains, where rifles have no chance against Sherman tanks and planes, to the mountainous areas from which guerilla warfare can be waged. Between 7:00 and 11:00 a.m. the units of the Indonesian army stationed within the city evacuated via a shuttle system which utilized the few army vehicles available. From about 10:00 until 10:45 a.m. a cabinet meeting was held at the President's residence. Shortly after 11:00 a.m. one of the political leaders informed the writer that he was leaving immediately for the hills on foot. From what he said it was to be inferred that all leaders who were physically able to evacuate would do so. Shortly thereafter many transport planes could be seen near the western and southern fringes of the city. These areas were not between the captured airfield and the Dutch airbases at Semarang and Batavia that were funneling troops and supplies into it. It can only be assumed that they were dropping parachutists around the periphery of the city in order to close off as many routes of escape as possible. It is significant that they waited to do this until after the Indonesian army had evacuated the city and evidently before many of the political leaders were able to escape.

GEORGE MCT. KAHIN

## JAPAN'S NEW POLICE LAW

BY RALPH J. D. BRAIBANTI

A POLICE FORCE WHICH will be the servant, not the master of the people is the aim of the drastic reorganization of the Japanese police system which was inaugurated in 1948. More than any other institution except the army, the police in prewar Japan symbolized

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2 This information was obtained from Indonesian Airforce Headquarters just before its evacuation.

3 This was witnessed by the writer, who was living on the block in question.

to Japanese and foreigner alike the negation of personal liberty. The old system was characterized by an extreme centralization of authority and a wide range of police powers going well beyond the continental European models from which it was derived. All police forces were directed by the national government in Tokyo. In addition to such recognized police functions as detection and prevention of crime, traffic control, and serving of writs, their powers of supervision extended into every phase of Japanese life. Japan was in truth a police state. The reforms initiated by the occupation aim to limit the functions of the police, to decentralize their administration, and to subject them to a greater measure of popular control.

Many of the abuses in the old system grew up through loopholes in the law. Police powers originally derived

legal sanction from the Old Criminal Code of 1882, written by M. Boissonade, a distinguished French jurist, and based on the Code Napoléon. This was superseded by the new Criminal Code of 1908. Although the Code of Criminal Procedure provided reasonable limits on the length of time for which a person could be detained without charge, a minor administrative law of 1900 provided a means for evading these limits. Under its provisions potential disturbers of the peace could be locked up over night. The police were able to hold people for months and even years by daily renewal of detentions under this law. The courts were powerless to interfere, since they had no jurisdiction over administrative actions of the police. Administrative arrests for "unlawful thoughts" were extensive after the China Incident began in 1937, and were later legalized in the Public Peace Preservation Law of 1941.

### Other Prewar Police Powers

Extensive licensing powers and a broad range of economic functions were further sources of police authority. Police censorship was exercised over all meetings, publications and broadcasts. The police regulated the licensing of physicians, druggists, masseurs, retail shops, industries, banks, geisha houses and restaurants, and supervised the annual compulsory cleaning of houses, wells, ditches and drains. Rationing and price control measures were administered by the Economic Police (*Keisai Hoan Ka*). Attempted suppression of black market activities was one of their major functions. The enforcement of game laws, conservation of forests and other natural resources, and control of epidemics among animals and plants were police responsibilities. The Water Police regulated the movement of all vessels and supervised ports, harbors, and rivers. Enforcement of factory laws was likewise a police responsibility. In addition, the police frequently intervened in the settlement of labor disputes and regulated the affairs of labor unions. The Tokyo Metropolitan Police Board and other large police headquarters had special sections on labor affairs.

Through the local personnel register intimate details of the life and ancestry of every citizen in his district were known to the policeman on duty in his station box. Change of residence was impossible without prior police approval. This system offered numerous opportunities for corruption. For example, it was customary in bad times for owners of geisha houses to pack their belongings and depart in the night, leaving employees and other creditors unpaid. Many an owner departed in safety after showing the traditional "courtesy" to the police.

Police administration was centered in the Police Bureau of the Ministry of Home Affairs.<sup>1</sup> The chain

of command paralleled the prefectoral system but was virtually independent of it. Prefectural police directors were appointed by the Minister of Home Affairs, not by the prefectural governors under whom they presumably served. Although the police director was one civil service rank below the governor, there were many instances in which, because of the personalities of the two officials, the director of police wielded greater power than the governor.

Police methods were often brutal. Police training placed great emphasis on *judo*, or *jujitsu*, *kendo*, an ancient samurai sport of fencing with bamboo sticks, and *naginata*, a similar sport. *Kendo* and *naginata* were banned in police training on September 30, 1946, but *judo* was retained. Police training was exacting. The patrolman was trained to walk his beat at the speed of seventy-five steps per minute. The use of third degree tactics to enforce confessions was common. In one instance the writer saw the results of acid being poured over the eyes of prisoners, blinding them for life.

It was unfortunate but inevitable that American forces in the early stages of the occupation relied on the Japanese police to an extent that increased the latter's power. Thoughtful Japanese found it difficult to reconcile American slogans of democratization with obvious support of the police system.

American military personnel, especially the tactical troops which preceded by three months the establishment of effective military government, admired the quick efficiency of the police. Moreover, the police assumed that they would be the liaison mechanism between American forces and the indigenous government. Hence the first American troops found police stations prepared to receive and billet them. Each station was stocked with ample supplies of beer and *sake* for the "comfort of the advancing occupation forces." Fortunately these expectations failed to mature, but other aspects of close alliance were not lacking. One of the major needs of occupation forces was the recruitment of laborers in great numbers to enlarge and improve cantonment areas. One division headquarters in a sparsely settled area requisitioned over a thousand laborers daily. Since such requisition was upsetting not only to the social structure but to the needs of planting and harvesting, there was a strong undercurrent of resistance to such labor. The police prepared rosters of workers, so that assignment to work for the Americans would come to each worker on a rotating schedule. Often policemen would personally visit homes early in the morning of the working day and compel the worker to appear. The declining prestige of the police had to be constantly bolstered by the Americans in order to secure sufficient labor for their needs.

A second problem which aggravated the situation was that presented by Koreans, whose thirty-five-year-old

<sup>1</sup> The Ministry of Home Affairs was abolished on December 31, 1947.

resentment broke bounds after the surrender. Koreans often took the law in their own hands, and, claiming to be "official agents of General MacArthur," raided Japanese warehouses, refused to pay trolley and train fares, and resisted the police openly. In many areas, jails were filled to capacity with over-zealous Korean law-breakers. Yet the police were afraid to take too drastic action against these new "allies" of their conquerors. Only by sternly warning Korean associations and by supporting the wavering police could law and order be preserved. The policy of utilizing existing agencies of Japanese government, the need for suitable housing for American troops, and the requirement of maintaining law and order made reliance on the police essential in the first few months of the occupation.

### Postwar Decline of Prestige

Despite such support of the police power by the Americans, the prestige of the police declined sharply from the very beginning of the occupation. In their attack on infringements of civil liberties the American authorities acted swiftly. The abrogation of the Public Peace Preservation Law and some twenty other restrictive laws was accomplished in compliance with a SCAP directive of October 4, 1945. The Imperial Amnesty of October 17, 1945 released three hundred thousand political offenders and a later amnesty in November 1946 involved ninety thousand persons. Early in 1946 the substitution of wooden clubs for the traditional and symbolic short swords was of profound psychological significance in the changing pattern of police power.

These factors, combined with scathing criticism and denunciation of the whole police system in the newly liberated press, seriously reduced the capacity of the police to maintain law and order. The difficulty was aggravated by misunderstanding of the original demilitarization directive, which required the surrender of all arms and weapons. It was necessary for SCAP to clarify the situation by an announcement on October 11, 1945 which authorized a total police strength of 93,935, the issue of pistols not to exceed one for each ten policemen, and a reserve of 100 rounds of ammunition for each pistol.

During this early period feeble attempts were made by the Japanese to modify the police system, often with ludicrous results. On January 19, 1946 the Home Ministry authorized the use of women police and a training school for candidates was promptly opened. In April some sixty graduates of the school made their debut in Tokyo. They were assigned exclusively to traffic control, often at the busiest intersections. After two months of duty, the policewomen were disillusioned. Technically they were "auxiliary employees" rather than police officers and had no authority to arrest criminal suspects or to work with delinquent children and women. They also

complained of the adequacy of their pay. Finally they organized their own society, whose members accurately summed up the feeling of the group: "We are made by the Metropolitan Police Board to play the role of ornamental dolls. We have been deceived. From now on we must unite and struggle."

In August 1946 policewomen were raised to officer status, and after a brief training program were granted the same authority as their male colleagues. Gradually they assumed duties as prison matrons, and as officers concerned with juvenile delinquents and women offenders.

Many of the prefectures also employed women. As early as June 1946 Hyogo prefecture employed ten Japanese women as jail matrons, the first in Japan. As the novelty of policewomen passed, their usefulness increased and they are now regarded by the Japanese public as an essential part of the police structure.

The urgent need of extensive police reform was acknowledged by General MacArthur when, in February 1946, he requested the services of former New York City Police Commissioner Lewis J. Valentine. The Valentine Commission, together with a second body headed by Michigan State Police Commissioner Oscar J. Olander, planned the entire program of police reform. The Valentine group studied municipal police systems, while the Olander group prepared recommendations for reorganization of the rural police.

Valentine arrived in Japan on March 11, 1946 with Inspector Charles J. LaForge of the New York State Constabulary, and Captains George C. Gallagher, Benjamin J. King, and Richard J. Brereton of the New York City Police Department. The two-and-one-half-month study directed by Valentine was beset with difficulties, not the least of which was difficulty in comprehending Japan's behavior and governmental organization. But the report of the Valentine commission was both comprehensive and understanding. The commission concluded that the Japanese police system "was originally organized not to serve the public but to advance the political ambitions of those in control of the government." It recommended adequate pay, appointment of personnel on the merit system, limitation of police functions, and decentralized control of municipal police.

Recommendations of the Rural Police Planning Commission headed by Commissioner Olander were submitted to General MacArthur on August 1, 1946. Among other things, the commission recommended that the ancient practice of citizens' doffing hats when meeting a policeman be eliminated. A cut in personnel from one policeman per 788 persons to one policeman per 2,000 persons was also suggested.

Japanese police reform assumed two principal aspects. The first was the transfer of many powers from the police to other agencies of government, existing or newly

created. This was accomplished by the abrogation of the Public Peace Preservation Act and other laws and by the dissolution of the Ministry of Home Affairs. What remained of the police function required extensive modification and had to be integrated with the new autonomy given to prefectoral and local governments.<sup>2</sup> The outlines of the new police structure were defined in the Police Law, enacted by the Diet December 8, 1947 and put into effect March 7, 1948.

### The New Police Law

The Police Law embodies nearly all the recommendations of the Valentine and Olander commissions. These recommendations were not imposed on the Japanese by fiat. The spirit in which they were sent to the Japanese government is indicated by General MacArthur's message in accepting the report of the Valentine Commission, which stated: "In so far as practicable I am sure that the Japanese Government will initiate reform as rapidly as there can be a full understanding of the import of the changes recommended. It will take time, however, to integrate the changes into Japanese life."

The new Police Law confines police responsibilities to the prevention of crime, suppression of criminal activities, preservation of law and order, control of traffic and traffic safety, and the serving of warrants, subpoenas and other judicial instruments as directed by competent authority. Activities relating to sanitation, public health, fire, census enumeration, economic controls, conservation of natural resources, and marine affairs—all formerly police functions—have been removed from police responsibility and assigned to other branches of government.

In the decentralizing process, two types of administrative control are defined. *Operational control* is defined as the enforcement of law including the direction of police forces in preservation of law and order, planning and execution of law enforcement procedures before and during situations prejudicial to law and order, and the use of police power in areas of responsibility as provided for by law. The Police Law defines *administrative control* as management of all police affairs not included in operational control, including such matters as pay, promotion, supply, training, personnel management, and like activities.

Citizen control of police policy is achieved through the creation of public safety commissions. These commissions are intended to represent various interest groups in the community. Commissions exist at the national, prefectoral, and municipal levels. The National Public Safety Commission has five members appointed by the Prime Minister with the consent of the Diet for staggered terms of five years. Prefectoral and local com-

<sup>2</sup> The law decentralizing local government became effective on May 3, 1947.

missions have three members appointed by the popularly elected governor, mayor or headman for three-year staggered terms with the approval of the legislative body. No two members may be of the same political party. Commissioners are subject to removal by the appointing authority with the approval of the legislature. They must never have been in the career police or career public service and must not be officers of a political party. One of the chief functions of the national and municipal commissions is the appointment of a director of police, who is subject to removal by the commission at any time. Prefectoral commissions do not possess this power, but are presumed to have sole policy-making authority for the rural police of the prefecture.

The new Police Law wisely considers the divergent needs of rural and urban areas and sets up two distinct types of police organization. The municipal police are completely decentralized. Cities and towns of 5,000 or more population are authorized to maintain their own police forces. Complete responsibility for these forces is vested in the local public safety commission. The 1,605 municipal police forces range in size from the Tokyo Municipal Police Force of 25,000 men to small village forces of six or seven constables. The total number of municipal policemen may not exceed 95,000, about seventy-five percent of the entire police strength of Japan. Municipal public safety commissions exercise both administrative and operational control of their police forces. The complete autonomy of each local force is indicated by the absence of any channel of control either from Tokyo or from the prefectoral government. The only contact between local police bodies and the national government is the cooperative use of the national crime laboratories and other central technical facilities.

Police protection for rural areas unable to sustain an independent force is organized quite differently. The rural police forces are centrally directed from Tokyo and hence less responsive to local opinion. The National Rural Police (NRP), which may not exceed 30,000 men, is supervised by the National Public Safety Commission and administered by the National Rural Police Headquarters, headed by a Director General appointed by the Commission. Besides the NRP, the Commission controls the Imperial Guard and the National Building Guard, whose members are not police and are not included in the 125,000-man limitation on the size of the Japanese police force.

The NRP is organized in six regions, each with a regional director appointed by the national Director General. No advisory citizen commission exists at the regional level. The regional office is merely a field office of the National Headquarters and possesses no discretion in policy matters. The Police Law also provides for the establishment of a three-man public safety commis-

sion in each of the forty-six prefectures. This commission is appointed by the government and exercises operational control over the rural police of the prefecture. But it cannot appoint its own public safety director. Prefectural directors are appointed by the regional directors, who in turn are appointed by the Director General in Tokyo. Hence it would be difficult for a prefectural commission to exercise effective control over a police chief whom it is powerless to remove.

The Prime Minister, upon recommendation of the National Public Safety Commission, is authorized to proclaim a state of emergency for the entire nation or for any part of it. His proclamation must define the emergency situation, designate the area, and establish the effective date of emergency control. Issuance of such a proclamation transfers operational and administrative control of any or all police forces, both National Rural and local autonomous forces, to the Prime Minister. The proclamation must be ratified by the Diet within twenty days or it loses its effect. The Prime Minister must rescind the proclamation when the emergency no longer exists or when so ordered by the Diet.

The recent earthquake in Fukui prefecture provided an opportunity to test the effectiveness of this plan. Following the earthquake, the National Headquarters of the National Rural Police dispatched 729 policemen from ten prefectures in the Osaka National Rural Police Region to the disaster area. In addition 314 municipal policemen from the surrounding cities were sent to aid the local police. The system seemed to work as effectively as the old Imperial police system.

By amendments to the Criminal Code adopted by the Diet on October 11, 1947 the legal foundation for vicious police practices in force since 1908 was removed. Pre-indictment detentions are now limited to a ten-day period, and arrests may occur only after judicial warrants are issued, save for the usual exceptions of *flagrante delicto* and suspicion of the commission of the more serious crimes. The principle of *habeas corpus* has been recognized as a matter of absolute right in all cases other than major felonies. Arrest of persons for *lèse majesté* is no longer legal.

### Personnel and Training

Occupation authorities have recognized that re-education of police personnel is essential to the ultimate success of police reform. Elimination of undesirable personnel was a necessary preliminary step. The SCAP directive of October 4, 1945 barred from further service 4,987 members of the police force who were formerly engaged in thought control activities. Initial steps in re-education were undertaken by American officers, who gave instruction to key Japanese personnel. As early as June 1946 Provost Marshal authorities in Osaka established a training school for Japanese police. One police-

man from each ward in the city was required to attend. Instruction covered liaison between military and civil police, soldier and civilian identification, traffic and pedestrian control and small arms marksmanship. Picked members of the police force, after additional training, acted as inspectors and instructors throughout the city.

After the adoption of the National Police Law, a system of regional police schools was established. The Regional Police School for the Tokyo National Rural Police Region was opened on July 6, 1948. This was the first of six regional schools to be established, one in each of the National Rural Police regions, for in-service training of National Rural Police and certain municipal police personnel. American supervisors and texts are used.

Further to clarify the new role of the police, the Law Concerning Duties of Police Officials was passed by the Diet July 5, 1948 to be effective January 1, 1949. This law clearly defines the means allowed the Japanese police in the performance of their duties. It codifies regulations previously in force and implements the new Police Law. Rules and regulations governing the administrative and operational procedures of the National Rural Police were adopted by the National Public Safety Commission July 22, 1948 and were effective August 1. The rules forbid police personnel to participate in political activities.

Methods of selecting suitable police personnel have received careful attention, although progress has been necessarily slow because of the need for retaining policemen of minimum ability but faithful service. The rules of the National Public Safety Commission now provide for an examination system for all classes of officers. Appointment or promotion will hereafter depend upon the results attained in these examinations.

Evaluation of the new Police Law must consider the two separate systems which it establishes. The independent municipal forces, comprising some seventy-five percent of the total police strength, are as decentralized as possible and are controlled by representative citizen commissions at all policy-making points. There is no separation of administrative and operational control. All control is exercised by the public safety commissions through a director appointed by and subject to removal by the commission. This is as democratic a structure as can be reasonably expected. The use of the commission or board form of control might be subject to criticism by students of public administration, for this device, popular fifty years ago, is now outmoded in America. Yet it is probably wise to establish this institution in Japan. The opportunity for effective citizen participation in government under the old Japanese system has been so lacking that every opportunity for such participation should now be welcomed. The consensus is that the boards are not functioning satisfactorily as yet. The reason was well expressed by Jiro Tsuji, chairman of

the National Public Safety Commission. We are laymen in police affairs. We are gathering the view of various quarters on the operation of the new system to guide us in formulating our future policy."<sup>8</sup> But this very non-professional quality is a great virtue at this stage of Japan's emergence as a democratic state.

The National Rural Police system can be criticized because of its centralized control from Tokyo. Theoretical control of operations by the prefectural boards is negated by the fact that the prefectural police director does not depend on the board for his job. Moreover, administrative control is exercised by Tokyo, and the distinction between administration and operations is tenuous at best. Control of promotions, pay, and operational reports are all administrative processes but they strongly affect operational policy.

However, there is good reason for centralized control of the rural police. It would be disastrous to create a fully decentralized and democratic police force in a nation so lacking in experience of democratic government. The compromise represented by the new police system is the best that can be expected at this juncture. The structure of the rural police system can be defended on other grounds. Local government units have not gained fiscal autonomy; hence in the smaller communities and rural areas, financial limitations make it impossible to employ local constables. This deficiency might, it is true, be met by grants-in-aid, permitting a greater degree of local autonomy in centrally subsidized local police forces.

A final argument for centralized control of rural police is the constitutional provision prohibiting the maintenance of armed forces. Thus the nation has no agency except the police to cope with national disorder or disasters. The National Rural Police, actually if not apparently controlled by Tokyo, together with the emergency powers of the Prime Minister and the National Public Safety Commission, permit quick mobilization of 125,000 policemen in event of a national emergency.

There is always the danger that a determined individual or group can gain control of the rural police but this is offset by the policy-making authority of the civilian commission appointed by a popularly elected Diet. Other imperfections exist. In backward areas local police may fall under the influence of political bosses. But this danger is lessened by placing the power of appointment and removal of prefectural police chiefs at the regional police headquarters.

Similar problems and dangers exist in every system of government. On the whole, Japan's new police system has been wisely planned. Its successful operation will depend on the solution of a far larger problem—that of developing democratic habits of behavior among both policemen and voters.

## BOOKS ON THE PACIFIC AREA

MACARTHUR'S JAPAN. By Russell Brines. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott, 1948. 315 pp. \$3.50.

Russell Brines, AP correspondent in Japan for a number of years, provides us in this book with the first critical analysis of the occupation of Japan. Many will feel that the book does not include sufficient praise of General Douglas MacArthur's accomplishments, but few will deny that it does much to clarify the complex and difficult problems with which he is faced. There are some factual errors, a few weak conclusions, and, here and there, evidence of a lack of familiarity with historical background. But the book still has great value for the student of modern Japan.

After the initial chapters, on subjects of general interest, Mr. Brines delves into some of the basic problems of the occupation. He first attempts to answer the question: Has the power of the military really been broken? He admits that all Japanese military agencies have been completely disarmed and disbanded and that there appear to be no "werewolf" gangs of underground opposition movements, but he is skeptical of the "war-bred toughs" who have found outlets in post-surrender confusion—he even suggests that some groups may be outlawed patriotic societies in new trappings.

Probably the most serious problem facing the occupation is the two-horned economic one: How can we make Japan economically self-sufficient and at the same time destroy the zaibatsu who, according to General MacArthur, "shaped the national will in the direction of war and conquest"? During the early stages of the occupation considerable attention was given to dissolving the financial cliques and to controlling the operations of the monopolistic combines. But in the last few months there has been a marked shift of emphasis toward immediate Japanese economic rehabilitation. Mr. Brines appears to be disturbed by this development, for he states that the industrialists were "in the forefront of the fight of the old guard against occupation changes" and that they have "spearheaded the reaction toward the right." As for economic rehabilitation, he gives little ground for optimism, centering his discussion on inadequate food production, inflation, lack of resources, war damage, and other difficulties.

Regarding the efforts of the occupation to establish a constitutional government, the author concludes that the Japanese government of 1948 is far from representing the people and that although it has changed its form, it is being manipulated by the same men who had held authority before. He even expresses some doubts about the land reforms, which have been hailed as one of the greatest achievements of the occupation: "It was more likely that the countryside remained relatively quiet because the power groups were simply biding their time."

Finally, in chapters on Communism and democracy, Mr. Brines points out that although SCAP officials estimate the Communist membership to be about 16,000, the "gangster Communism" resembles a type of police state familiar to the Japanese and, therefore, constitutes a real threat. Democracy, on the other hand, appears to be very popular, but it is the more superficial aspects of the ideology that seem to make the greatest appeal. In conclusion he writes: "American guidance and control will be essential for a prolonged period, if the required stability is to be maintained."

EASTERN ASIA. By Thomas E. Ennis. Edited by Walter Con-suelo Langsam. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott, 1948. 627 pp. \$5.00.

This textbook, emphasizing the past century in Chinese and Japanese history, is written presumably for college students. It is written in a lively fashion and chronicles in considerable detail most of the historical events we expect to find treated, even including a recital of the war and postwar disorganization in the Far East. In attempting to assess its value as a textbook we may ask: Does it give a reasonably accurate account of major historical movements and an intelligent interpretation of causative forces, and is it organized and written in a fashion to assist students in their learning and understanding? The reviewer reluctantly concludes that, judged by these criteria, the book is a mediocre text.

Dr. Ennis devotes a hundred pages to the political histories and cultural achievements of China and Japan from their beginnings to the nineteenth century, but the account is too compressed and superficial to have much value as an introduction.

In three pages Dr. Ennis covers the fifteen-year Taiping rebellion, the most significant mid-nineteenth-century Chinese social movement in its causes and results. He presents the general causation as Chinese antagonism against foreign encroachments developing into an attempt to eliminate a government that was unable to resist the West. That is all — no analysis of various economic causes, of anti-Manchu activity among secret societies in the south, of social antagonisms between Hakka and aborigines and the dominant Chinese. Hung Hsiu-ch'uan's personality and religion are discussed in one paragraph and then — suddenly — in 1853 "this bizarre horde who carried the Bible" has seized Nanking and set out to capture Peking. An American, Frederick Ward, in 1860 organizes the Ever-Victorious Army. Two pages of Ward and Gordon finish off the Taipings! This is not history but the distortion of history. Why should this myth be perpetuated in spite of Hale, Bales, Taylor and *Eminent Chinese of the Ch'ing Period*?

Regarding the decisive period 1853-68 in Japan — from Perry to the overthrow of the Shogunate — I found no attempt to analyse the economic and social forces which brought about the political revolution of 1868. Ennis treats the upheaval in terms of western pressure for opening Japan, retaliatory anti-foreign sentiment and outrages, and a wise Shogun who decided to abdicate for the good of the country. Such surface skimming fails to lay a basis whereby students may understand the subsequent drastic reformation of Japanese society, which is also chronicled but not explained.

The same weakness is evident in the treatment of the Sino-Japanese war — surely a turning point in the international positions of China and Japan and an event with important long-run results in both countries. The major criticism here, however, concerns the unfortunate organization of the text. Dr. Ennis postpones discussion of the Sino-Japanese war until he has brought China's history up to the present, as though that war were purely a Japanese affair. How may a student understand the "Hundred Days of Reform," the Boxer uprising, or the overthrow of the Manchus without reference to the shock and effect of this war in China? This confusion of chronological treatment is typical. A student would have to read this book several times, and reorganize it, before he could gather the connections between major events and forces at work in the Far East.

Treatment of the Kuomintang-Communist split also indicates the level of historical analysis provided the student: the trick of glossing over highly complicated circumstances and the

characteristic "passive voice" treatment of history make it appear that things happen, as it were, by themselves.

Perhaps these examples do not do justice to the book, which certainly has some merit; yet as a textbook I believe it cannot be classed with Vinacke's older *History of the Far East in Modern Times* or Clyde's recent *The Far East: a History of the Impact of the West on Eastern Asia*.

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ADAT LAW IN INDONESIA. By B. ter Haar. Translated from the Dutch. Edited with an introduction by E. Adamson Hoebel and A. Arthur Schiller. New York: Institute of Pacific Relations, 1948. 255 pp. \$4.00.

The present volume is the first account we have in English of native law in the Dutch East Indies, and should be indispensable for anyone interested in the administration of native peoples. The question arises: "Would it be better completely to alter the customs of a particular people so as to enable them to meet the competition of contemporary civilization, or shall we leave them so far as possible with their time-honored laws and traditions?" This question for Indonesia was hotly debated during the last war. Unfortunately we had then no adat law in translation, and many of the arguments used were based on emotion rather than reason.

There are two schools of thought in Holland concerning this problem. B. ter Haar, following the teachings of the great van Vollenhoven, the original compiler of adat law in Indonesia, desires to keep native customs so far as possible, although modernizing them to suit present needs. This book, which is ably edited by Hoebel and Schiller, furnishes a powerful and indeed overwhelming argument for preserving adat law. For example, the author shows that problems of land ownership and marriage and divorce are matters of communal concern in Indonesia, and cannot be solved by Occidental individualistic standards.

No attempt is made by either ter Haar or the editors to show comparisons with the legal systems of primitive communities elsewhere. Yet comparisons may easily be made, for the word "adat" is simply the Arabic word for "custom" and corresponds to the word "mores" as used by Sumner in his famous book *Folkways*. In order to facilitate such comparisons one might present a more realistic map of the land areas of Indonesia, from the viewpoint of ethnography, than the one used by ter Haar. The customs and laws of Java, Sumatra, Madura, Bali, and coastal Malay settlements in general are far more advanced or developed in character than are those of the more isolated peoples of Eastern Indonesia, the Dyaks of Borneo, or the Mentawai Islanders on the west coast of Sumatra.

This development may have been due to the fact that cattle raising peoples spread their legal systems from early Mediterranean cultures as far south as the Bantu of South Africa and as far east as Bali. Thus we find in both regions the same form of bride-price (as payment for the children) and similar forms of proverbs, riddles, and the formal oath and ordeal. Peoples having these traits are legally advanced. The oath and ordeal are the embryo of our trial by jury; in the proverb lies the germ of philosophy and codified law.

In the introduction the Mentawai Islands are classed as part of the Malayo-Polynesian law-area. The reviewer, as a result of his field experience, believes rather that the Mentawai Islanders are primitive Malayan, while Nias should be placed in the Malayo-Polynesian law-area. Mentawai is entirely outside of the cattle-raising culture; Nias is on the fringe.

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## NEWS CHRONOLOGY

December 24, 1948, to January 6, 1949

December 24: *China.* The Communists announce their capture of Kalgan, major North China center.

December 24: *Indonesia.* The UN Security Council orders an immediate cease-fire in Indonesia and the release by the Netherlands of interned Republican leaders. The Republic's office in Singapore reports that a Republican emergency government has been set up on Sumatra.

December 25: *Indonesia.* The Dutch capture Madiun, the last major Republican city in Java.

December 26: *China.* The Communist radio broadcasts a list of forty-five Chinese government leaders, including President and Madame Chiang, whom it calls "war criminals."

December 27: *China.* It is reported that American companies in China are receiving notices from the Central Committee of the Communist Party that the "legal interests" of American firms will be protected if the US does not intervene in China.

December 27: *Indonesia.* The UN Security Council rejects a Soviet resolution that the Dutch cease fire in Indonesia within twenty-four hours and a Ukrainian resolution that Dutch troops be withdrawn to the positions they held before the current hostilities.

December 27: *Korea.* President Syngman Rhee announces that his administration will sponsor a "liberal" land reform program and urge its adoption as soon as possible.

December 28: *Indonesia.* The UN Security Council adopts a resolution by China calling for the release of Republican leaders within twenty-four hours, and a resolution by Colombia calling for more information on the Indonesian situation from consular officials stationed there.

December 28: *Korea.* The US Army announces that it is withdrawing the Seventh Infantry Division from south Korea, leaving in Korea one American division plus some service troops.

December 29: *China.* President Chiang summons his highest military commanders for a meeting in Nanking and replaces the civilian governor of Formosa with General Chen Cheng, former chief of staff.

December 29: *Indonesia.* A Dutch statement to the Security Council pledges an end of hostilities in Indonesia early in January.

December 30: *Korea.* The Moscow radio officially announces that the Soviet Union completed the evacuation of its troops from north Korea on December 25.

December 30: *United States.* President Truman states that the question of more funds for China will not arise until the regular ECA appropriation is considered in April.

December 31: *China.* President Chiang's New Year's statement offers to discuss peace with the Communists but lays down conditions including preservation of the constitution, the "democratic form of government," the "entity" of the armed forces, and the standard of living. A Communist broadcast predicts the establishment in 1949 of a coalition government "under the leadership of the Communist Party, all democratic parties, and delegates from mass organizations."

January 1: *India.* India calls an international conference to meet at Allahabad within two weeks to consider possible action on Indonesia. Countries invited include Egypt, Turkey, Syria, Lebanon, Iraq, Saudi Arabia, Afghanistan, Iran, Pak-

istan, Ceylon, Burma, Siam, and China. Hope was also expressed that Australia and New Zealand would attend.

January 1: *India and Pakistan.* The two dominions order an immediate cease-fire to end their fourteen months' warfare in Kashmir. Dispatches from Pakistan state that the truce agreement includes a provision for a plebiscite to be supervised by the UN. Meanwhile Kashmir is to be divided into two occupation zones, each with its own interim government.

January 1: *Indonesia.* The Dutch launch new drives on Sumatra after ceasing fire in Jaya except for activities against guerrillas.

January 1: *Korea.* The US extends full diplomatic recognition to the south Korean government.

January 3: *China.* The US allocates the sum of \$16,490,000 to provide emergency supplies of wheat and rice to the seven Chinese cities receiving ECA aid. Nanking extends recognition to the south Korean government.

January 4: *Netherlands.* Netherlands Premier Willem Drees leaves for Indonesia, promising eventual free elections and democratic government for Indonesia.

January 5: *Indonesia.* The Dutch order their troops to cease fire in Sumatra except for fighting "roaming groups, gangs, or individuals who try to cause disorder."

January 6: *China.* UN Secretary General Trygve Lie states that he has decided not to intervene in the Chinese civil war. William C. Bullitt tells the joint congressional Committee on Foreign Economic Cooperation that only an American general with an American staff can halt the Communist advance in China.

January 6: *Netherlands.* Queen Juliana renews Dutch pledges of free elections and partnership in a sovereign government for the Indonesians.

January 6: *United States.* Representative McDonough of California introduces a bill to admit the Territory of Hawaii into the union as the forty-ninth state.

The FAR EASTERN SURVEY assumes no responsibility for accuracy of items in the "News Chronology." The chronology is based on reports in the *New York Herald Tribune* and the *New York Times*.

### CORRECTION

The FAR EASTERN SURVEY of October 6, 1948, erroneously listed Junjiro Takakusu's *Essentials of Buddhist Philosophy* as being on sale at the University of Hawaii for \$2.75. A limited number of copies were available at \$5.00, but the book is now out of print.

### FAR EASTERN SURVEY

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PUBLISHED FORTNIGHTLY BY THE AMERICAN INSTITUTE OF PACIFIC RELATIONS, INC., 1 EAST 54TH ST., NEW YORK 22, N. Y. RAY LYMAN WILBUR, *Chairman*; CLAYTON LANE, *Executive Secretary*; DONALD B. STRAUS, *Treasurer*; KATRINE R. C. GREENE, *Assistant Secretary*; TILLIE G. SHAHN, *Assistant Treasurer*. ANNUAL SUBSCRIPTION, \$6.00; SINGLE COPIES, 25c.

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~~CONFIDENTIAL~~  
Office Memorandum

• UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Director, FBI

DATE: February 14, 1949

~~PROT~~  
SAC, New York

SUBJECT: INSTITUTE OF PACIFIC RELATIONS  
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

Submitted herewith is a copy of the "Far Eastern Survey" for  
February 9, 1949, published by the subject organization.

Submitted for your information.

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Enc. 1

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# Far Eastern Survey

AMERICAN INSTITUTE OF PACIFIC RELATIONS

## THE SETTING OF FAR EASTERN POLICY

BY ROBERT J. KERNER

EVENTS PORTEND vast changes in Asia and on the Pacific. Their inevitability has not been in doubt—only their character, whether they would be evolutionary or revolutionary. The emergence of the Soviet Union from the Second World War as the strongest power in Europe and in Asia with a new party-line for the post-war era—that of the world revolution—has ended all doubts.

The base for the mastery of Asia and the Pacific is China. Neither Russia nor Japan alone has been able to claim such a basis. Twice Russia sought the control of China: after 1895 and between 1923 and 1927. Twice Japan attempted to dominate that country: after 1915 and between 1931 and 1945. In each case they failed. The question is now whether Soviet Russia, in the third attempt by that country, will succeed in the period which began with Japan's defeat in 1945. A well-informed writer has just completed his penetrating analysis of this question with the conclusion that the Soviet Union is developing the Russian Far East "into a mighty fortress on the shores of the Pacific" and is aiming "at expanding to the south, penetrating into the island empire in the east, and erecting a Soviet 'co-prosperity sphere' for the Chinese, Mongol, Korean, and Japanese peoples under Soviet leadership."<sup>1</sup>

If one ventures to speculate—assuming the predominance over China by the party and state of the Soviet Union—he is driven to the conclusion that this would shake the present none-too-stable foundations of the rest of Asia from Japan and Korea through Indonesia and India on through the entire Middle East.

Dr. Kerner is Sather Professor of History and Director of the Institute of Slavic Studies at the University of California. This article was completed on December 11, 1948.

<sup>1</sup> David J. Dallin, *Soviet Russia in the Far East*, Yale University Press, 1948, p. 270.

Just so the sovietization of Germany would signify the fall of Europe before the pressure of the party and state of Soviet Russia.

Obviously the key to Communist domination in Asia is to be found in agrarian policy. In his fundamental declaration of policy on China in 1927,<sup>2</sup> Stalin pointed out how Soviet control would emerge in two stages by transition from bourgeois democratic revolution to the proletarian revolution. In agrarian policy, Russian Communists foresee first the stage of seizure of lands by peasants (nationalization), and then later that of collectivization of peasant holdings. This was the pattern of Soviet Russia. It is doubtless the fundamental cause of the Stalin-Tito rift and Gomulka's trouble in Poland. It is bound to be on the program after Communist vic-

<sup>2</sup> *Communist International*, Vol. 4, No. 10 (June 30, 1927), pp. 200-207.

FEBRUARY 9, 1949 VOL. XVIII NO. 3

### UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA ISSUE

The articles in this issue are contributed by members of a group engaged in teaching and research in East Asiatic Studies at the University of California, Berkeley. The main interest of the group centers on the area of China and the surrounding regions.

### THE SETTING OF FAR EASTERN POLICY

by Robert J. Kerner

### AMERICAN RESPONSIBILITY IN CHINA

by Woodbridge Bingham

### BULK-PURCHASE AGREEMENTS

by J. B. Condliffe

tory is achieved in China. Because there has been action of this kind in Europe, these cases are noted here.

### Relations Among Communist Parties

The Tito-Cominform rift also gave a real insight into the so-called "difference" between the state—the Soviet Union—and the Russian Communist Party. The Yugoslav Communist party organ *Borba* clearly elucidated this: "In our system it is senseless and hypocritical to say that relations between Communist parties are one thing and relations between states are another." The way in which Chinese Communists from North China took over most of Manchuria with the cooperation or connivance or indifference of Marshal Malinovsky and his aides, in violation of the Soviet-Chinese alliance, is an illustration, and so is the Russian transformation of North Korea, as is also the timed collaboration of Japanese Communists and the Russian members of the Far Eastern Commission and of the Allied Council.

The prompt adherence of the Chinese Communist party to the European Cominform's excommunication of the Yugoslav Communist party was not only a formal recognition of the overlordship of the Russian Communist party and of the Soviet Union. The quarrel between Tito and Stalin concerns chiefly Yugoslav internal policy. Hence the Chinese Communist party's "foreign policy," which all observers admit follows obediently that of Russia, is not concerned. The Tito rift is precisely of significance in the internal autonomy of the satellite Communist parties. This can be seen clearly by their reaction in Europe. Only by an act similar to that of Tito can the independence of the Chinese Communist party be asserted. It is, therefore, hazardous to maintain that the Chinese Communists, while obviously unfree in foreign policy, will be free to do what they want inside China, when the propaganda value of their present internal "deviations" has worn out. Tito felt he could not risk a civil war, which might overthrow the Communist party in Yugoslavia, if he tried to carry out the Cominform's orders to collectivize peasants in the Russian pattern.

There are students of China who believe or hope that the Chinese Communist party, with much the same problems, can or will act independently. A partial answer will be given by Tito's fate, and that involves a case where, due in part to geographical factors, the chances of success for the Yugoslav heretic are perhaps greater than those of Mao Tse-tung or his successors in China. To base American foreign policy, at this time, on such hopes would be ill-advised. There will be time enough to do so, when and if such hopes materialize.

Another hope or prognostication often expressed is to the effect that the Communists will never be able to Communize the Chinese. This may turn out to be true in coming decades. In the meanwhile the Chinese, as

un-Communized as the bulk of the Russian people or the peoples in the satellite states are today, will be held in the tight grip of a totalitarian police state. And this is what counts on the premises. American policy-makers cannot be asked to wait for decades or longer for the Chinese to prove such an assertion.

These are some of the parts of the situation that confronts the United States in seeking to find a policy in line with its traditions and interests in this region. It had evolved the policy of the Open Door and territorial integrity of China. The complete independence of China from any other power and the right of the Chinese to order their own lives as they saw fit were the natural consequences of such a policy. Conceived more broadly, it rested on the idea that Russia would remain on the Pacific and that Japan would be content to play a restrained role. Russia, Japan, and China, it was hoped, would somehow balance each other. But China remained weak, and both Russia and Japan feared the United States might dominate China. That is at least one reason why Russia and Japan in turn sought to control China.

### "Coexistence" and "Cooperation"

With the defeat of Japan in 1945 and the collapse of its "East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere," a situation was created which had not existed before. It is at this point, with the Soviet Union beginning to occupy Manchuria and with the United States landing its troops in Japan, that American and Soviet policies came face to face. The basis of "coexistence" and "cooperation" was believed to have been firmly laid at Teheran (December 1943) and at Yalta (February 1945). Territorial deals and coalition governments, questionable on any other basis than that of international cooperation, were consummated. The basic outline for the United Nations was agreed upon—all in the belief that the Third International had been dissolved and that the Three Great Powers recognized at Teheran their "supreme responsibility . . . to make a peace which . . . will banish the scourge of war for many generations" and "to work together in war and in the peace that will follow." In the Far East, Soviet Russia was to receive what Tsarist Russia had lost in 1905 at the hands of Japan—security of access to the Pacific, including all-weather access through Manchuria, on the basis of national and vital interests. In the United States, the Communist party was dissolved. Earl Browder, the leader of the Communists, in addition strongly advocated cooperation between Communists and progressive capitalism, full employment, and markets abroad.

Some day, perhaps, we shall know more about why and how the Russian Communist party line changed by about February 1945, around the time of the Yalta Conference. That it changed can be detected in a series

of events: Vyshinsky's ultimatum to King Michael of Rumania to make Groza prime minister (February 28); in the war of nerves inaugurated against Turkey in regard to the Straits (March 21); in the inspired Duclos article in *Cahiers du Communisme* (printed in April, written in February or March), which gave the signal for the removal of Browder from leadership and for the restoration of the American Communist party—all thoroughly exposed by the Communists themselves. This party is the key Communist party of the future—the one with the biggest task to perform. The change is to be seen in the Soviet-imposed character of the Polish government and the precipitate alliance of the Soviet Union with it before its "reorganization" (April); in the character of the alliance with Yugoslavia in the same month; in the cession of Sub-Carpathian Ruthenia from Czechoslovakia (June); and in the assertion by Premier Stalin at Potsdam (July): "A freely elected government in any of these countries [neighbors of the Soviet Union] would be anti-Soviet and that we cannot allow."<sup>18</sup>

## **Results of Policy Change**

Most revealing has been the material which came out when the American Communist circles had to change their party line as indicated above. The Moscow Politburo and the Soviet Union here clearly signaled the end of the policy of "co-existence" and "co-operation" and the beginning of a revived policy of world revolution with its accompanying "war of nerves" or "cold war" in the days between Yalta and Potsdam. The later public activity of William Z. Foster, the new leader, was to have considerable bearing on China. On August 19 the State Planning Commission was ordered to prepare the Fourth Five-Year Plan with its stress on producers' goods and war potentials. The actions mentioned here are sufficient to call attention to the changing underlying policy. They occurred long before any one even dreamed of the Truman Doctrine and the Marshall Plan. Future historians, with more materials available, will be able to be more exact as to the origins of this crucial turning-point in world affairs. All of these public actions, clearly indicating the pattern of a new policy, happened before or at the time Soviet Russia entered the war in the Far East (August 8) and before the completion of the Soviet Russian-Chinese Nationalist Treaty of Alliance (August 14). In this regard that treaty was destined to become so much waste paper. Together with the application of the policy of the world revolution, Soviet Russia included the restrictive national and vital aims indicated in the treaty in its objectives on all fronts in the Far East.

<sup>3</sup> Philip E. Mosley, *Face to Face with Russia*, Headline Series, Foreign Policy Association, No. 70, July-August 1948, p. 23.

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Concessions were made to Russia at the Moscow Conference of Foreign Ministers (December 1945) on these matters and a new effort at cooperation was begun with something like a "coalition" government to be set up in China, and with the Far Eastern Commission and the Allied Council to be created for Japan. A joint Soviet-American Commission for Korea was established. The Marshall Mission endeavored to find a basis for a coalition government in China. The mission, it has been stated, failed because extremists on both sides prevented it. In the meanwhile, Manchuria passed into the hands of the Chinese Communists. The situation has now become one in which the latter threaten to control all of China. Military opinion has been expressed to the effect that complete Communist control of China might lead to more aggression by Soviet Russia in Europe. On the other hand, influenced by this course of events during the last three years, the issue in Japan has become more and more whether it could become a "bulwark for peace" under the circumstances, or would have to become a "springboard for war." The situation in Korea is in tragic suspense, dependent to a large extent on what happens in China and Japan.

## A Bleak Picture

The Far East presents a bleak picture. But Europe and the Near East do not present a much brighter one. This is fundamentally for the same reason. The origins of this course of events should be sought in the policy of the party and state of the Soviet Union in the period between February and August 1945, and not two years later in the policy of the United States with the Truman Doctrine and the Marshall Plan, which were adopted as measures of defense. The latter were used as excuses for further action by Soviet Russia along the lines set by February 1945. Hence the Cominform.

It is only too obvious that neither Soviet Russia nor the Western Powers can allow the other to dominate Germany or China. Apparent as it is that conditions, for example as in China, cause change, the character of the change is all-important. The vast revolutionary

tory is achieved in Russian Communism, party, which guides of this kind in Communist parties, with the exception at the Yugoslav party, is a decisive factor as to Relations the change shall be evolutionary or revolution.

The Ti and whether the result is national independence or Soviet vassalage. This new, dual factor in United politics of the identity of a revolutionary party stand of a "formal" state since 1917, and immensely strengthened since 1945, is one with which the Western Powers, with policies based on national and vital interests, have been unable to a large extent to cope. It would be logical and correct to say that the new factor has made their methods largely obsolete. Unless the Western Powers are willing and able in concert to use new methods and new policies capable of meeting the situation on all planes of human relations and contacts

in all countries, including the Soviet Union, they are likely to continue to fall. In doing so, they must face squarely the policy of world revolution of the party and the state of the Soviet Union. It is questionable how far "conditions" in China may invite the slogans and later the iron grip of the Communists. They might invite another set of slogans. Could it be said that "conditions" in Czechoslovakia invited them? It takes no prescience to see that the Communist parties outside of Russia would be relatively weak and harmless without guidance, encouragement, and assistance of various kinds from the Soviet Union. They have not won and cannot win a free election.

The issue of our time is the adoption of new methods and new policies by the Western Powers, or continuous and disastrous retreat before the Communist advance.

## AMERICAN RESPONSIBILITY IN CHINA

BY WOODBRIDGE BINGHAM

THE CRITICAL NATURE of the current situation in China, where a government recognized and supported by the United States is now reeling under the impact of military defeats inflicted by Communists, provokes in Americans the desire for immediate action. It is imperative therefore that we pause to consider our ultimate aims and to be sure that measures adopted now will promote the results we want in the long run.

Our official policy since the defeat of Japan has been to aid the development of a strong, unified, and democratic China. No one disputes that this is a desirable goal. But instead of strength and unity we find in China today governmental weakness and civil war, and instead of democracy we find two non-democratic parties vying for control. The Communists, who employ falsification and corruption together with programs designed for popular appeal, are opposed by the Kuomintang, whose leaders' chief concern is to preserve their personal power, even by acts of ruthlessness carried out in total disregard of their announced aims.

It is the purpose of this article to show that American aid should go neither to the Right nor to the Left. There is a pressing need today for our government and people to unite in a policy of continuous positive action in support of the middle groups in China, those who are in accord with our basic aim of helping them in the creation of a strong, unified, democratic nation.

If we are to aid the Chinese in replacing the present chaotic conditions by something better we must first note in general the basic elements in the Chinese scene. This

subject has been ably dealt with by other authors.<sup>1</sup> Here will be mentioned only a few points which seem to the writer to be of especial importance. Among these the prestige of the educated man, acknowledged by all classes of society, is an element which has long won the praise of foreign observers and from which China will gain in the future as she has in the past. There is, however, also an aspect of weakness in the scholarly tradition. Belief in the scholar's rights as a member of a privileged class has led to a scorn of manual labor, evasion of military duties in time of crisis, and insistence on special attention even in time of need. This led to tragic consequences last July when government troops shot and killed refugee students during a peaceful demonstration in Peiping. These students from Manchuria had previously wrecked the Municipal Council Building as a sign of their displeasure over plans being formulated for them.<sup>2</sup> They used violence themselves to emphasize their demand for special treatment from a poverty-stricken government faced with civil war. A sense of patriotic duty which in some countries (as in France and England) leads scholars to seek military service in the armed forces of their government is in China noticeable by its absence.

There is among the Chinese a source of strength in the pride of race and culture which gives them poise and self-assurance in their darkest days. But the growth of national patriotism and social consciousness is slow.

1 See notably John K. Fairbank, *The United States and China* (Cambridge, 1948).

2 J. Lyon, "Report on the Peiping Shooting," *China Weekly Review*, July 17, 1948, pp. 203-206.

Banking officials in high places ~~do~~ hesitate to sabotage the government's attempts to control inflation. Foreign relief workers find they must deal with officials who are devoid of any feeling of social obligation and who derive personal profit from the sufferings of their fellow countrymen.

Some of the disorganization then stems from within the ancient culture. Other factors, more important today, are the revolutionary developments which have come with the impact of the West. China has been faced with disturbed conditions in her politics, economics, and social life ever since the fall of the Manchus in 1911. Varying currency standards, high interest rates, spasmodic steps toward industrialization, and outmoded communications over large areas have reflected political uncertainty. The development of new and more efficient economic methods has been prevented by civil wars, banditry, and invasion. Extra precautions against railroad hold-ups in 1925 and machine-gunners guarding airports in 1947 are parts of the same pattern of political insecurity which has been characteristic of all China's recent history. Social change, from the non-binding of the feet of peasant girls to unstable marriages among the educated classes, is part of the revolutionary trend away from tradition.

Social factors enter prominently into the military struggle today. A war primarily for political power is heightened in intensity by ideological conflict. The Chinese Communists have gained widespread popular support for their reform program, which their opponents have not been able to match. Peasants, workers, and students gain a sense of security and of active participation within the Communist regime, but at the same time their thinking is controlled and directed from above. Intolerance on one side and demoralization on the other mark the conflict of ideas in China today.

### Aiding the Middle Group

Fortunately we are not limited to choosing one extreme or the other. There are many in between who constitute a middle group and who believe as we do in democratic government and the freedom of the individual. These elements of the center consist primarily of those men whom General Marshall characterized as a "splendid group" of liberals. They have been either outside the government or in a small minority within it and nowhere have they enough political power to be a controlling influence. Some have argued that we should ignore this liberal element because it has no present political strength. Yet it is potentially important as a group which might take the lead in a constructive opposition to the Communists. It is to be noted that private industrialists and a group of semi-independent army men are among those who would support a more liberal government. In their demands for reform such groups

would be backed ~~by~~ by the Christian churches and their followers in China. Of prime importance are the scholars and the educated classes generally. These people look to us for ideological and material aid. They are basically friendly toward Americans and are the mainstay of the liberal middle groups. Members of those groups are now in Communist China and most of them may soon be in areas under Communist control.

The question is how we can contribute to their power and influence. If we can assist them effectively we may hope that in time a constructive solution may be found for China's present difficulties.

Any action our government can take in China is limited by various international agreements. In the first place China has been accorded a recognized position of importance among the nations. The United States signed a treaty in January 1943 relinquishing extraterritorial and other special rights in China. In the Charter of the United Nations China is one of the Big Five with a permanent seat on the Security Council. China under the Kuomintang government, though weak and disorganized, has in fact been treated as a great power. Legal recognition of the Nationalist government, first accorded twenty years ago, is basic to our relations with China. Civil war and invasion have not altered that fact, and indeed we have assisted in promoting China's prestige.

The force of this friendly treatment was greatly modified by the secret agreement signed at Yalta between Churchill, Stalin, and Roosevelt in February 1945. Through this not only was our country committed to support Soviet territorial expansion by acquisition of southern Sakhalin and the Kuriles and by a virtual protectorate over Outer Mongolia, but we agreed (without consulting the Chinese) to the establishment of Soviet influence in Manchuria through railroad and port rights. Our government is bound to support encroachments on China's sovereignty such as we ourselves and the British have been giving up. Now that Chinese Communists control all of Manchuria, we can only hope that our yielding to Soviet demands may have resulted in placing the Russians in a position where all Chinese will see clearly their expansionist aims as compared to the present role of Americans in China.

The American position in China has in some quarters been grossly misrepresented. During the spring of 1947 the last of our armed forces in North China, whether connected with General Marshall's former Executive Headquarters or guarding railway lines and evacuating Japanese, were all withdrawn. For the first time since 1900 (except for the period of Japanese occupation) the United States maintained no military forces in the Peiping-Tientsin area. There were American military and naval advisers of the Nationalist government in Nanking, Tsingtao, and elsewhere. But these

were employed in the country at the request and for the benefit of the recognized government of China and not to protect American lives and property as in the past.

Other Americans assisting the Nationalist government have been those supervising relief distribution, technical experts, and persons connected with the special grant to China under the Economic Cooperation Administration program of 1948. In addition there are in China American missionaries and representatives of other private agencies, a declining number of businessmen, a few scholars and special students, and official representatives of the United States government. These groups do not constitute an interventionist or imperialist force. Nevertheless our motives are constantly being distorted by Communist propaganda and all of our efforts to aid the Chinese have met with suspicion if not hostility. These feelings are largely unjustified, but the fact of their existence must be considered as part of the framework within which we can proceed.

### Divergence of American Views

Another important part of the picture is the wide divergence of views among Americans who are concerned about our China policy. General Wedemeyer at the end of his visit to China in August 1947 said, "Recovery awaits inspirational leadership and a moral and spiritual resurgence which can come only from within China," but he later advocated aid to the Chinese government. John K. Fairbank has argued that "Our military aid, in spite of the good intentions and legal justification that lie behind it, may antagonize the force of Chinese patriotism rather than win it to our side."<sup>4</sup> A contrary view is expressed by Paul M. A. Linebarger, who believes that the United States can find means of rendering effective aid to China and "reducing the burden of the Marxist rebellion."<sup>5</sup> Representative Walter Judd, William C. Bullitt, Governor Dewey, and the editors of *Time* have urged increased military and financial aid to the Chinese government.

American public opinion is confused by such disagreements and saddened by the deterioration of conditions in China. We fought Japan at least partly to aid China and we have had a feeling of sympathy if not of responsibility toward Chinese efforts at recovery.

This sentiment has expressed itself since the war in various ways. Our financial assistance to the government of China since V-J Day has been reckoned in billions of American dollars. Supplies and materials as well have been turned over to the Nationalists. Some relief has also

gone to Communist areas. In the diplomatic field we have not only kept in China as our ambassador one who is devoted to the Chinese and has spent most of his life working for their welfare, Dr. J. Leighton Stuart, but other Americans have also given time and energy to assist in a peaceful solution of China's internal conflict. General Marshall spent a year with a large staff attempting to bring about a military compromise and a coalition government. In the months immediately following the war, American naval vessels and American planes helped transport Chiang's troops to North China and Manchuria and members of the American armed forces assisted in the surrender and evacuation of the Japanese military. Since then a small group of American naval and military advisers has been assisting the Nanking government.

What has been the result of this assistance? Military aid from us during the war and after has not resulted in a better Chinese army. Only rarely has effective use been made of the troops trained under American direction during the war or of the modern equipment supplied from the United States. Military failures have been reflected in the economic situation, whose chief characteristic has been a vicious spiral of inflation. Government expenditures, especially for support of the armies, have far exceeded revenue received. Production has declined, imports have been restricted, transportation has been disrupted, and commodity prices have soared. The government and the big cities under its control have depended for subsistence on aid from the United States, and the people have lost spirit and incentive.

Meanwhile the reactionary clique controlling the Kuomintang has believed that the United States would support it no matter how it governed, so long as it opposed the Communists. These men have gone through the motions of inaugurating constitutional government, but in 1947, when the writer was in China, he heard the government characterized both within and without its organization as "weak," "incompetent," and "corrupt." Fine men have been associated with it, but they have not been able to overcome the basic weaknesses of the system.

One reason for a lack of confidence in the central government was found in the actions of its agents. In Shanghai innocent persons lived in terror of arrest. National government soldiers were feared because of their treatment of the people. Soldiers have beaten up coolies in the streets of Kaifeng and have looted rich and poor alike in Yunnan. Freedom of the press has been denied in violation of the Bill of Rights in the new constitution. Misgovernment in provinces far from the major areas of Communist activity has led to banditry and to the increase of Communist groups among the people. This has been true in Kwangtung since T. V. Soong became governor there in 1947, and in Yunnan, where the local

<sup>3</sup> *China Press*, August 25, 1947.

<sup>4</sup> "Can We Compete in China?", *Far Eastern Survey*, May 19, 1948.

<sup>5</sup> "The Case for Aid to China," *Far Eastern Survey*, February 11, 1948.

Kuomintang magistrates have been chiefly interested in revenue derived from opium production.<sup>6</sup>

The spread of Communism has been due not only to a genuine faith among members of the party but also to revulsion against the Nationalist government. This feeling of revulsion has come to be directed also against the United States because of our close association with that government. We are seen as attempting to create a satellite state to assist us against Russia. Our aid is seen as aggressive imperialism and has made the United States the target of patriotic anti-foreignism. Hostility and suspicion toward the United States have been prevalent not only in the Communist area but also in the very parts of China where we have sent relief and where our financial aid has supported the government.

### Negative Results and Positive Possibilities

Thus many and serious attempts since V-J Day to aid the Nationalist government in restoring order in China have had mainly negative results. Not only has our military and financial aid been wasted but it has turned against us many of our best friends in China. This has been apparent for two years at least. It was obvious to the writer in China during the summer of 1947 that, except in the Nanking government, many people who were most friendly to Americans were also opposed to United States support of Chiang Kai-shek. The situation and their feelings toward us have deteriorated during the past year.

These ill effects of our official aid outweigh what has been accomplished in a constructive way. The favorable side of American influence in China should not, indeed, be overlooked. A constitution has been adopted which includes features derived from British and American ideas. The government at Nanking has had among its membership men of liberal views whose training and associations lead them to close relationships with the United States. Official as well as private relief measures have succeeded when attempted on not too large a scale.<sup>7</sup> When private channels such as those of missionary organizations have been used, supplies have been distributed honestly and efficiently. Through agencies of our government and through missions, much has been done and is being done to indicate our concern for the people of China and to encourage the middle groups to persist in working for a way of life neither reactionary nor Communist.

Our present commitments are chiefly those authorized by Congress in 1948: economic aid to the extent of \$275 million through the Economic Cooperation Administration and \$125 million for military aid. For the economic

projects including local reconstruction we have stipulated that our people are to have a complete check on the way in which the funds are spent and the goods distributed from start to finish. This arrangement has seemed justified owing to the inefficient and corrupt way in which some supplies have been handled in the past, but it should be noted that in making officials appointed by us responsible for governmental activities within China we become liable to the accusation of infringing on Chinese sovereignty.

It is now widely recognized that military and financial aid to the Nationalist government merely for the purpose of checking the extension of Russian influence in China is futile. The middle groups in China, many of whom believe in us and would be glad to turn toward us for aid in a constructive solution to the problems of revolutionary China, can best be helped by private agencies and by certain special departments of our government. Such aid will be needed more than ever if Communists come to dominate the central government.

We should continue to support the Chinese churches and all well-organized groups, whether Chinese or joint agencies, which are active in promoting education, relief, and the principles for which we stand. There are many such groups in operation, and they deserve official as well as individual American support.

Our national policy should also include the continued maintenance of agencies such as the United States Information Service through which we are bringing to the Chinese the best of our culture and our ideas. If large-scale material aid is now impracticable, certainly advice and encouragement in the development of democratic institutions is essential. Our advisory services must be continued in such activities as the industrial cooperatives and technical assistance for rural rehabilitation, and our influence will be most effective if the advice is made available to all Chinese whatever their political complexion. We cannot allow a fear of Communism or the factor of "legal recognition" for one party in the civil war to prevent us from extending aid toward those on the other side.

We have a tradition of friendship toward the Chinese which may be reinforced at this time only by patient and wise direction of our influence. They need our help in reconstruction. It is up to us to present the best we have with careful consideration for the rights and feelings of those to whom we offer it. At the same time, if we are to compete successfully in the war of ideas, we should remind ourselves of our own highest principles and attempt to instil faith in them among the Chinese. Our basic concepts of Christianity, of equality of opportunity and political freedom, the methods and knowledge of our scientific achievements, and our belief in representative processes in economics and politics must be at the heart of any program we undertake.

6 *China Weekly Review*, July 31, 1948, pp. 251-52, 258-59.

7 See Harlan Cleveland, "Economic Aid to China," *Far Eastern Survey*, January 12, 1949.

# BULK-PURCHASE AGREEMENTS

BY J. B. CONDLIFFE

NEW ZEALAND PRODUCES over 150,000 tons of butter a year. Of this quantity about eighty-five percent is exported. In the season 1947-48 the whole export was sold to Britain at 205 shillings per hundredweight. Translated into American, this is equivalent to 36.8 cents per pound. In consequence of this bilateral bulk-purchase agreement, supplemented (at a higher price) by a similar agreement with Denmark, the British people have an adequate supply of butter at a moderate price. For the current exporting season from New Zealand the price of butter has been raised to 235 shillings per hundredweight, equal to 41.6 cents per pound, and for the six following seasons the price is guaranteed not to vary by more than 7.5 percent up or down from year to year.

## Lost: A Handsome Profit

Under conditions of competitive trade, private enterprise would have been tempted to profit by the discrepancy between the prices of butter in the United States and in Great Britain. A rapid calculation would show that the difference between forty-two cents a pound landed in London, and the United States wholesale price, which for some time ran around eighty cents, offered a margin of almost 100 percent. The American tariff is fourteen cents a pound; but under the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade negotiated at Geneva in 1947, up to 50,000,000 pounds of butter may be imported during the northern winter months at a seven-cent duty. A landed price of say fifty cents in New York or San Francisco would still yield a handsome profit, even though the wholesale price in the United States has now fallen to about sixty-five cents.

Moreover, it would yield dollars, which are scarce outside the United States. If the tariff quota were filled even at sixty cents it would yield the substantial sum of \$30 million, of which \$3.5 million would go to pay import duties. Of course New Zealand would lose the sterling proceeds of these exports—£5.25 million, equivalent to \$21 million at the current exchange rate. But New Zealand dairymen would make an extra \$5 million profit, and in doing so would add \$30 million to their country's supply of dollars. In the past they would not have neglected a market that might raise the price of butterfat by more than a penny a pound—apart from the effect of the new buyer upon the price in the British market.

These dairymen have recently been interested in buy-

Dr. Condliffe is Professor of Economics and Director of the Institute of Economics at the University of California.

ing tractors. They need about 2,500 to break new ground and to cultivate what is already broken. It is a long time since they had any dollars to buy tractors—or gasoline, or agricultural machinery, or automobiles to take them to market. Britain, where the government holds sterling, finds an order for 2,500 tractors hard to fill at a time when British agriculture is being equipped to restore the self-sufficiency that was lost a hundred years ago with the repeal of the Corn Laws—and when, in addition, British tractors are being pushed on the American market in an effort to earn dollars. In any case the British tractors are not as suitable for New Zealand conditions as the tougher American makes, and they cost more. The New Zealand farmers want American tractors so much that they have recently been allotted \$5 million from the sterling pool. If they were allowed to export their tariff quota of butter to the United States they could buy the tractors and still have about \$25 million to put in the dollar pool. It is difficult to imagine that the British tractor manufacturers could match this amount by their sales in the United States.

One argument the farmers use, in the effort to find some way by which they may sell their butter at a higher price and buy their tractors at a lower price, is that with tractors they could increase the output of butter. Moreover, the incentive of higher price would cause more land, labor, and equipment to be devoted to butter production. In the language of market economics, the allocation of the factors of production is determined by the individual producer's estimate of the marginal net revenue to be obtained. But this occurs only when farmers are allowed to decide for themselves where to sell and what to buy.

## The Decline of Free Markets

When a free market economy operated to allocate resources to the most profitable forms of production, there was the greatest expansion of world production and trade in history, especially in underdeveloped areas. Trading enterprise created the Pacific world as we know it. The ancient civilizations of Asia were drawn into the orbit of world trade. The resources of the tropical islands and peninsulas were scientifically developed. But the most rapid development took place in the European settlements overseas. No planned programs before or since have ever approximated the shifts in population, the transfers of technical knowledge, the capital investment, and the increases in production and

trade which brought into productivity the middle and west of the North American continent, the forested dairylands of New Zealand, and the interior plains of Australia. This is worth thinking about when Britain, the organizing center and driving force of that expansion, is casting about for means to insure food supplies for its population, now grown to fifty millions and accustomed to higher living standards.

The British government has negotiated a whole series of bilateral bulk-purchase agreements—with New Zealand for meat, cheese, butter, and casein, with Australia for meat, cheese, butter, and dried fruits, with Canada for meat, wheat, cheese, eggs, and milk, with Argentina for meat, with Denmark for bacon, eggs, and butter, with all parts of the British Empire, the Dominican Republic, Haiti, and Portuguese East Africa for sugar, with British East Africa for sisal, and with many other countries for a variety of products, including tea and base metals. These agreements constitute a far more effective obstacle to freer multilateral trade than the network of imperial preference ever did.

### **U.S. Attempts to Restore Freer Trade**

Meanwhile the United States, long the spiritual home of tariff protectionism, has been driven to realize its interdependence with world economic development. The drive for freer multilateral trade initiated by the Reciprocal Trade Agreements Act of 1934 was a significant attempt to stem the anarchy of planned economic nationalism that followed the failure of the Monetary and Economic Conference at London in July 1933. State trading, exchange control, bilateral clearing, and bulk-purchase agreements were products of this period of economic anarchy, which swiftly led into economic warfare and into the consolidation of these expedients during war mobilization.

The United States has gone a long way to demonstrate that it is in earnest in trying to get rid of these political handicaps to trading enterprise. The major condition of the lend-lease agreements was a pledge by all participants in mutual aid to cooperate with the United States in restoring freer multilateral trade when the war ended. The United States in a realistic gesture wrote off its contribution to lend-lease—approximately \$42 billion net after deducting recoveries and reverse lend-lease. It provided, and is continuing to provide, a substantial proportion of the interim assistance necessary to recreate industrial productivity in western Europe. The Anglo-American financial agreement which was a precursor of the ERP reiterated the pledge contained in the master lend-lease agreement.

The whole program of international economic cooperation through the specialized agencies of the United Nations depends upon the restoration of freer multilateral trade. Unless freer world trade can be restored

the International Trade Organization cannot be created, the International Monetary Fund cannot function effectively, and the extensive aid now being poured into the European Recovery Plan will fail of its purpose. A surprisingly large proportion of the ECA funds is being spent multilaterally in offshore purchases. Of the dollars authorized for British commodity purchases between April 3 and September 30, 1948, only one-fifth was spent in the United States, two-thirds of the total having been spent in Canada. Moreover the General Agreement on Trade and Tariffs is now in force. That agreement slashed the United States tariff. Over half the imports (by value) were bound on the free list or at low rates, while on one-fourth duties were cut up to fifty percent. Among the reductions were many of substantial interest to the British Pacific Dominions—for example, twenty-five percent on wool and fifty percent on butter.

If any doubt remained as to the earnestness of the United States in this drive for freer world trade, it has been removed by the November election. President Truman made freer world trade one of his campaign issues. He now has a mandate in his own right, and a sympathetic Congress. For good measure the electorate has eliminated from Congress the chief opponents of the reciprocal trade agreements program. The State Department has announced the opening of negotiations with eleven more countries. The United States is serious in its attempt to create a multilateral system of freer world trade.

### **The Question of Long-Range Interests**

Sooner or later, the United States is bound to raise the question whether bilateral bulk-purchase agreements are compatible with the pledges made in pursuance of mutual aid and reaffirmed in connection with the European recovery program. This question will not be raised in any spirit of close-fisted bargaining. There is much genuine sympathy with the predicament of western Europe in general, and of Britain in particular. The United States will not back a friendly government against a wall. The really important question is not one of international legality. It is whether these bulk-purchase agreements serve the long-run economic interest either of the Dominions or of Britain. Clearly the Dominion suppliers have accepted lower than competitive prices.

The main reasons why they have done so are, first, a strong feeling of solidarity with the British people, and, second, a deep-rooted belief that the United States market will collapse. The British people need butter; but they also need bread to put it on. As to the American depression, Australian and New Zealand farmers have already accepted lower prices for several years, and the depression has not yet arrived.

Theoretically, the sole buyer has bargaining advantage. This has been verified in the British bulk-purchase agreements with Australia and New Zealand. But where there has been another buyer, for example the United States in the case of base metals from southeast Asia, the producers (who should not be confused with their governments) have squeezed the market. One of the difficulties in analyzing this question is that price changes have been abrupt and large. This is the result largely of the secrecy with which the bilateral bargaining is conducted. The journals are full of complaints that government officials will not reveal data about quantities, prices, accounts, or the principles by which prices are arrived at. On the other hand, the producers seem able to make surprisingly accurate guesses. There is no open market, and political bargaining is full of surprises.

A more serious issue still is the failure to expand supplies. Britain's switch to non-dollar sources of supply—by subsidized domestic agriculture, by expensive plans of colonial development, by bilateral purchase agreements—has not produced increased food supplies. But it has put up the cost. The worsening of the terms of trade bewailed by planning economists is in part caused by the persistent attempt to channel trade bilaterally. It used to be thought that private traders in their search for profit would buy where goods were produced most cheaply. The modern theory that statistical calculation by public officials serving centralized agencies can be used to manipulate the terms of trade has produced an imposing body of theoretical equations. This is an impressive intellectual achievement; but what the British people need more of is food.

The most effective way to increase the total supply of food is to encourage specialized production where it can be produced most efficiently. The only way to find out where it can be produced most efficiently is to allow trade to move freely. It is a reasonable bet that the British people would have as much butter, and more meat, and that the dollar pool would be fuller, if the New Zealand dairymen were allowed to buy tractors. Moreover, with an extra penny a pound on their butter fat the New Zealanders could buy more British goods. Meanwhile the much-feared inflationary spiral in the United States would be dealt a body blow. Freer trade is not a new prescription; but it is a powerful medicine which in the past has worked some remarkable cures. It might be worth trying again.

#### NEW IPR PUBLICATION

**THREE REPORTS ON THE MALAYAN PROBLEM.** By David R. Rees-Williams, Tan Cheng Lock, S. S. Awberry and F. W. Dalley. Varying views of the recent disturbances, presented by representatives of three of the groups involved. 46 pp., mimeo. \$50. IPR Publications Office, 1 E. 54th St.

## BOOKS IN THE PACIFIC AREA

**JAPAN DIARY.** By Mark Gayn. New York: William Sloane Associates, 1948. 517 pp. \$4.00.

This book can be recommended to the general reader as both entertaining and illuminating, and to the scholar as a salutary corrective to too many official reports and abstract analyses. What it contains is not history, but the living material of which history is made. Most of the book is straight reporting, in helter-skelter diary form, of what the author saw, heard and smelled in post-war Japan and Korea. In refreshing contrast to the hopped-up style affected by many correspondents, Mr. Gayn lets his material speak for itself. His is not a story of personal adventure but the odyssey of an inquiring mind. Driven by an insatiable curiosity, the author ranged widely. He bounced over the country in jeeps, froze in windowless trains, warmed himself at the anug *kotatsu*, and ate rice, radishes and spam. He talked to star-studded generals in Tokyo and to harassed young lieutenants in remote prefectures; to Japanese politicians, big-time racketeers, anxious peasants, fiery union leaders, ex-terrorists, suave business men, intellectual idealists, landlords, journalists and bureaucrats. The result is a vast newsreel of the confusion, promise and menace of MacArthur's Japan, the violence and gloom of Hodge's Korea. The author is not quite unbiased; his sympathies are with the under dog. His conclusions are brief and rather disturbing.

M.S.F.

**THE RUBBER INDUSTRY: A Study in Competition and Monopoly.** By P. T. Bauer. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, published for the London School of Economics and Political Science, 1948. 404 pp. \$7.50.

Mr. Bauer's authoritative book deals with the crude rubber industry, which in the course of a few decades grew so rapidly that the product became one of the world's leading raw materials. The production of natural rubber was started by plantations at the beginning of the present century, but the peasants of Southeast Asia soon followed the example of the plantation and, at first hardly noticed, developed an industry of their own in direct competition with the plantations. Even when the size of the peasant rubber area and production became impressive plantation circles engaged in a great deal of wishful thinking. One of Mr. Bauer's most valuable contributions lies in the clarification of the numerous misunderstandings and misconceptions regarding such questions as the merits of peasant planting practices, bark consumption, bark renewal, and yields of peasant holdings.

The author shows that Asiatic peasants, or smallholders, are able to produce rubber with a very limited expenditure of resources. This reflects the absence of any complicated processes all the way from planting to the production of smoked rubber sheets. Many of the peasants have practically no cash costs. They clear the land in the first place for the raising of an up-land rice crop or two and plant the land then with rubber instead of letting it go back to second-growth forest, as they used to do. The tapping and processing can be done with the help of family labor or on a share basis by hired laborers, if this proves necessary. Plantations, on the other hand, have large overhead costs, which in the early 1930s accounted for two-thirds to three-fifths of the costs of production, while direct costs of production represented one-third to two-fifths of the total costs. Because of this difference in costs the outlook

for the plantation industry was rather slow, and prior to 1934 the trend favored the peasant producer. Rubber was well on the way to becoming predominantly a product of peasant agriculture.

This changed greatly with the establishment of the international rubber regulation scheme in 1934. Mr. Bauer presents an impressive amount of evidence that the scheme favored the plantation industry and discriminated against the small peasant producer. He reports numerous instances in which authorities ignored completely the results of technical enquiries and chose rather to adhere to outdated concepts regarding the production capacity of Asiatic smallholders. Most notorious was the underestimate of the native rubber area in Indonesia. Both in Malaya and in Indonesia the burden of the rubber restriction fell on the shoulders of the mass of small producers, who were given a completely inadequate quota.

Not only did the smallholders suffer heavy losses of income in the past on account of the inequitable quota distribution but their whole future is now threatened by the planting provisions of the international rubber regulation scheme; these provisions were still in force when the author visited Malaya in 1947. He points out that unless this restrictive policy is changed the Malayan smallholders, for example, will be eliminated within twenty years.

Mr. Bauer deals also with the rise of synthetic rubber, compares costs of production of natural and synthetic rubber, and examines the outlook. A number of statistical appendices and notes round out this valuable study, which should make interesting reading not only for Westerners interested in tropical agriculture, international commodity control schemes, and colonial policy in practice but also for Asiatic political leaders who in the past made many of the claims for which this book now supplies the evidence.

*Yale University*

KARL J. PELZER

**THE WHITE PONY. An Anthology of Chinese Poetry.** Edited by Robert Payne. New York: John Day, 1947. 414 pp. \$4.00.

Western pundits have for a century or so talked much about the beauty of Chinese poetry, but few have believed them. One can sympathize with the sceptics, for in translation Chinese poetry is too often flat, insipid, or obscure. Legge's rendering of the Odes in "noble Protestant prose" (as some unconscious humorist has called it) is jejunity embedded with botanical names; Giles's verses are pedestrian. Modern translators (e.g. Mrs. Ayscough) are often vivid, quaint, or charming, but one feels that they are "interpreting" rather than construing. Even Dr. Waley, the most pleasing of all the translators, we do not exempt from the suspicion. He offers us a marvel of pellucidity and Western cadences as a replica of something Chinese (e.g. the *Tao Te Ching*, which Chinese commentators have kneaded like mud for over two thousand years). The truth seems to be that so much is lost when Chinese poetry is torn from the living sheath of the written character, and so much from the remoteness of the culture, that some process of interpreting is indispensable. Personally, however, if I haven't the Chinese to enjoy or puzzle over, I prefer to know, as near as may be, what the poet actually said.

Mr. Payne has had the bright idea of persuading a whole platoon of native scholars to produce literal translations of their poets in free verse. The result is an anthology which is more comprehensive than any hitherto published, and far more reliable for reference than any other collection.

In his introduction Mr. Payne proves that he himself is a

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poet with a fine gift of language, but he is so swayed by changing impressions as to seem fickle and contradictory. For example, he tells us on page xii that the Chinese "were never affected with too great a sadness," but on page xv they produce poetry "with the wildest abandon of grief." On page xvii "death (to a Chinese) is a thing to be feared" and on the following page we are told that none the less the Chinese "did not fear death." This is a little giddyng to the prosaic mind. But his remarks and his anthology are well worth while all the same.

VICTOR PURCELL

**THE ALLIED OCCUPATION OF JAPAN.** By Edwin M. Martin. New York: Stanford University Press, under the auspices of the American Institute of Pacific Relations, 1948. 155 pp. \$3.00.

Mr. Martin, until recently Chief of Occupied Area Economic Affairs in the Department of State, has written a brief but very useful précis of occupational policy and its implementation in Japan. This book is first in a series on postwar Japan planned by the Institute of Pacific Relations. The author warns readers not to expect an appraisal of successes and failures. As he wisely says: "It is essential not to permit the perspective of our great distance from Japan and our scanty information about her people to oversimplify the differences among her citizens in their reaction to their postwar problems, one of which is of course the occupation." Such opinions as he expresses, fortunately with considerable freedom, are cautiously optimistic regarding SCAP accomplishments.

The treatment is divided into six chapters, each introduced by excerpts from relevant sections of the documents which control Allied operations. Major attention is given to economic measures and to the depressed circumstances of industry, labor and agriculture which condition their success. Mr. Martin considers that "orthodox" reparations policy is hardly practicable for Japan and indicates that this issue is intertwined with that of the future of Japanese big business. He traces clearly the several steps taken to break up the monopolies, points up the difficulties involved, and remarks that anti-monopoly efforts in the United States have shown that "those interested in extending their areas of control seem to find two new doors for every one that is closed." The Japanese, he states, have given "an incredibly incompetent performance" in the struggle for economic revival, one which cannot be excused on alleged grounds of interference by occupational measures such as the purge or the attack on the *zaibatsu*. Perhaps it is explained by the effect upon incentive of Japanese knowledge that Allied policy contemplates keeping Japan's economic system permanently under restrictions which would be rejected for themselves by Allied economies.

One finds clarifying factual and interpretative statements on a large number of topics: how policy was formulated initially, how SCAP meshes with the Far Eastern Commission, how the liquidation of military forces and the repatriation of Japanese abroad were carried out, how the members of GHQ, throughout the several sections, seek to persuade, rather than to drive, toward reform legislation, how the government and political parties are developing, and others. Mr. Martin avoids certain issues, e.g. those which have arisen between SCAP and the FEC, SCAP policy toward rightism, and the fundamental one of the practicability of an attempt by Western civilizations to set patterns for older Oriental peoples. Within the limits set for himself he presents valuable data with admirable objectivity.

*University of Minnesota*

HAROLD S. QUIGLEY

# NEWS CHRONOLOGY

January 7 to January 20, 1949

January 7: *Burma.* Fighting is reported to have broken out between Karens and government forces in southern Burma over an alleged massacre of 200 Karens in a church on Christmas eve.

January 7: *Indonesia.* The Security Council resumes debate on the Dutch action in Indonesia, and studies the report of the Good Offices Committee, "immobilized" by the Dutch, which states that Council orders to the Dutch have not been complied with and expresses doubt that a continuation of the Committee would "serve any useful purpose."

January 8: *British Commonwealth.* Dominion High Commissioners for Australia, New Zealand, India, Pakistan, and Ceylon advise British Foreign Secretary Bevin that Britain's hands-off policy regarding the Indonesian situation may hamper the drive against Communism in Southeast Asia. Commonwealth representatives are also reported to have suggested the formation of an Eastern Union to prevent the spread of Communism throughout Asia.

January 8: *China.* It is reported that the Nationalist government has formally approached the United States, Great Britain, Russia, and France regarding the possibility of aid from them in settling the Chinese civil war.

January 8: *Indonesia.* It is announced that teams of UN military observers, withdrawn on Dutch orders at the beginning of the recent hostilities, have now received permission to return to operational areas in Java and Sumatra.

January 8: *Siam.* Siam notifies India that her government cannot accept Prime Minister Nehru's invitation to attend a Southeast Asia conference at New Delhi on the Indonesian question, stating that she wishes to "await the outcome of further endeavors of the Security Council . . . and will abide by any decision reached."

January 10: *China.* Formosa's new governor, General Chen Cheng, announces that the island will be made a fortress for restoring Nationalist China.

January 11: *China.* The Control Yuan calls for a cessation of hostilities and offers to resign en masse, if necessary, in the interests of peace.

January 11: *Indonesia.* The US delegate to the Security Council advocates the withdrawal of the Dutch from Republican territory, the gradual withdrawal of Dutch armies from the East Indies, free elections for an assembly to set up an Indonesian government, and transfer of sovereignty from the Netherlands to the United States of Indonesia.

January 12: *Indonesia.* Dutch forces confirm reports that a damaging attack was carried out on Jogjakarta on January 10 by Indonesian guerrillas.

January 13: *India and Pakistan.* The Security Council hears the report of the Commission for India and Pakistan and members express gratification at the success of the truce and plebiscite agreement between the two dominions on the question of Kashmir.

January 14: *China.* The Communists state their conditions for peace negotiations, including the removal from office of President Chiang and Vice-President Li, a mutual cease-fire with both sides holding their present positions, a new constitution, reorganization of the army and of the political and land systems, confiscation of bureaucratic capital, punishment of "war criminals," establishment of a coalition government

without "reactionary participation, and abrogation of "traitorous" treaties with foreign powers.

January 14: *Japan.* General MacArthur announces the issuance of a new set of rules for foreign investors in Japan, designed to ease some of the tight controls maintained since the surrender.

January 15: *China.* The Communists capture Tientsin. It is reported that both the US and Great Britain have declined to use their good offices to seek peace talks.

January 16: *China.* The ECA announces that it has cut off shipments of wheat and flour to Nationalist China under a "watch and see" policy toward military developments. Southern ports are reported overstocked with flour.

January 16: *Indonesia.* The UN Good Offices Committee states that five captured Indonesian Republican leaders are being held under close guard by the Dutch on an isolated section of Bangka Island.

January 16: *Siam.* The Indian Foreign Ministry states that Siam will send observers to the international conference on the Indonesian problem in New Delhi.

January 17: *Indonesia.* The Security Council intercedes with the Dutch to allow one or more imprisoned Republican leaders to come to Lake Success and report on the Indonesian situation.

January 18: *China.* The Soviet Union announces its rejection of the Nationalists' appeal for mediation in the Chinese civil war.

January 19: *China.* It is reported that the Executive Yuan has decided to issue a cease-fire order and send a delegation to negotiate peace with the Communists. The Nationalists announce that some government ministries will move south.

January 20: *Burma.* The cabinet of Premier Thakin Nu resigns, reportedly because of problems arising from ten months of civil war. It is announced that the Premier will set up a new and smaller cabinet.

January 20: *China.* The leadership of the Kuomintang endorses a cease-fire resolution.

January 20: *India.* Delegates and observers from nineteen Asian nations meet in New Delhi for the first session of the Asian Conference on Indonesia and express determination to aid the Republic of Indonesia in its struggle against the Netherlands.

The FAR EASTERN SURVEY assumes no responsibility for the accuracy of items in the "News Chronology." The chronology is based on reports in the *New York Herald Tribune* and the *New York Times*.

## FAR EASTERN SURVEY

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PUBLISHED FORTNIGHTLY BY THE AMERICAN INSTITUTE OF PACIFIC RELATIONS, INC., 1 EAST 54TH ST., NEW YORK 22, N.Y. RAY LYMAN WILBUR, Chairman; CLAYTON LANE, Executive Secretary; DONALD E. STRAUS, Treasurer; KATRINE R. C. GREENE, Assistant Secretary; TILLIE G. SHAHN, Assistant Treasurer. ANNUAL SUBSCRIPTION, \$6.00; SINGLE COPIES, 25c.

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FAR EASTERN SURVEY

*Winner of the  
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# The United States and China

BY JOHN KING FAIRBANK  
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ANNALEE JACOBY

*The New York Times Book Review*

"... The best book on China I have seen is John K. Fairbank's *The United States and China*. It is a survey not of wars or civil wars or transient events, but of the underlying social pattern of a whole society. It shows why capitalism has not developed China as a constructive force, why industrialism is slow, why our kind of middle class is almost non-existent. It shows how the fatal entanglements of landed gentry with government officialdom has kept China stagnant."

MAX LERNER

*The New York Star*

"Early chapters contain a careful survey of the Chinese scene, the nature of Chinese society, the Confucian pattern, cyclical interpretations of Chinese history, the Western impact and revolutionary processes. This portion of the study is a scholar's attempt to condense complexities in Chinese historical background, and reflects many years' teaching and mature reflection on the subject of China . . . Later chapters launch into contemporary Chinese and international politics and deal with problems and prospects: economic, political, and social reconstruction, the future of liberalism, and current American policy . . . Contemporary shifts will hardly detract from Professor Fairbank's major conclusions: that Chinese society is very different from our own; that the worst enemies of American policy are wishful thinking, subjectivism, sentiment, and plain ignorance."

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"The name of Fairbank is almost synonymous with China in the view of experts on that far-off land. This volume is a

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# Far Eastern Survey

AMERICAN INSTITUTE OF PACIFIC RELATIONS

## AMERICA LOSES CHINESE GOOD WILL

BY DOROTHY BORG

CHINESE GOOD WILL toward the United States has long been recognized as an asset of American foreign policy. This country has traditionally upheld the integrity of China, and after the first World War it led a movement to remove from China the burden and humiliation of international controls. While Chinese often regarded the views of the State Department as limited and its approach as unfortunate, they had for the most part faith in its good intentions. Chinese statesmen frequently sought the assistance of the United States in steps to further their country's interests. The good will of China was valued not only by American diplomats but also by American businessmen and missionaries in China.

Since the second World War there has been a profound change in attitudes in Nationalist China toward the United States. Whether they are for or against the Nationalist government, most Chinese concerned with political issues have become bitterly opposed to American policy.

The writer has attempted to trace the trend of this opposition in a variety of newspapers and periodicals that have appeared in China since 1945.<sup>1</sup> Unfortunately these publications do not reflect the opinions of China's illiterate peasant population or of the man in the city streets. They can, however, be accepted as representative of important groups of what may loosely be termed "conservatives" and "liberals." Among conservative publications are the official newspapers that exist in most of the big cities and newspapers controlled by groups

Dr. Borg, author of *American Policy and the Chinese Revolution, 1925-1928*, is now in China as correspondent for the *Far Eastern Survey* and research associate of the Institute of Pacific Relations. Her article was completed early in January 1949.

<sup>1</sup> See footnote on next page.

within the Kuomintang (such as the CC clique), the government, and the army. Among liberal publications were formerly newspapers such as the *Wen Hui Pao* in Shanghai and magazines such as the *Chow Pao* and *Wen Tsui*, all of which were suppressed by the summer of 1947. These were generally used as mediums of expression by individual writers and academic people whose politics varied from a Western type of liberalism to what is often called in China "liberal-leftist." Since 1947, there has been a marked tendency for liberals to channel their writings into periodicals as these have enjoyed somewhat greater freedom from censorship than the daily press. However, caution has had to be exercised in the expression of opinion.

In retrospect it is evident that after the war liberals were the first to look to the United States for assistance and the first to turn away with a feeling of almost violent disillusionment. This change took place during the Marshall mission, when most liberals became convinced that the United States was to blame for the outbreak of civil war.

FEBRUARY 23, 1949 VOL. XVIII NO. 4

### AMERICA LOSES CHINESE GOOD WILL

by Dorothy Borg

Fluctuations of opinion registered in Chinese newspapers and periodicals since 1945 have resolved themselves into a widespread and bitter opposition to American policy.

### RESISTANCE IN INDONESIA

by George McT. Kahin

Far from collapsing, Republican resistance to the Dutch occupation has reached an unprecedented pitch.

Following the defeat of Japan, the main problem in China was whether civil conflict could be avoided. Soon after V-J Day, the United States sent large numbers of troops to north China to repatriate Japanese soldiers, and transported Nationalist forces to key points in north China and Manchuria. As the Chinese Communists had gained a strong foothold in north China and Manchuria during the war, these American actions gave the Nationalists an unexpected advantage.

### Liberals Criticize One-Sided Aid

Many liberals criticized the United States on the ground that it was encouraging the Kuomintang to settle its dispute with the Communists by force. They believed that instead of strengthening the Nanking government, the State Department should exert diplomatic pressure to effect a peaceful settlement. They thought moreover that if the Kuomintang did not receive help from abroad it might adopt internal reforms in order to obtain the support of the people.

An article in *Wen Tsui* in November 1945, entitled "Please Leave Our Country, Troops of Our Ally," was a typical expression of liberal feeling. The writer asserted that, by their interference, American troops were complicating the situation in China. A "Letter to the

<sup>1</sup> Daily translation services were used covering Shanghai newspapers since 1945, and Peiping, Tientsin, and Nanking newspapers for approximately one year beginning with the Wedemeyer mission. In the case of magazines, translations were made of all articles on American policy in China appearing in the following magazines since the end of the war: *Chow Pao (Weekly Review)*, *Wen Tsui (Articles Digest)*, *Shih Yu Wen (Time and Culture)*, *Kwan Cha (Observer)*, *Sin Lu (New Road)*, *Shih Chi Ping Lun (Century Critic)*. Student material was selected and translated by students at Peking and Yenching universities. In all, over 5,000 articles were examined.

Following is a list of principal newspapers cited and their affiliations: *Chien Sien Jih Pao*, Shanghai (General Ku Chu-chun); *Ching Shih Jih Pao*, Peiping (CC clique); *Chia Kuo Jih Pao*, Nanking; *Chung Yang Jih Pao*, Shanghai, Nanking (official Kuomintang); *Ho Ping Jih Pao*, Shanghai, Nanking (Kuomintang Army); *Hsin Min Pao*, Shanghai, Nanking, Peiping (independent; publication suspended in Nanking); *Hsin Sheng Pao*, Peiping (General Tu Yu-ming); *Hua Pei Jih Pao*, Peiping (official Kuomintang); *Min Kuo Jih Pao*, Tientsin (official Kuomintang); *Peiping Jih Pao* (Kuomintang); *Shang Pao*, Shanghai (CC clique commercial organ); *Shih Chieh Jih Pao*, Peiping (CC clique); *Shun Pao*, Shanghai (CC clique); *Sin Wen Pao*, Shanghai (CC clique); *Ta Kang Pao*, Nanking (CC clique); *Ta Kung Pao*, Shanghai, Tientsin (independent, Political Science group); *Tung Nan Jih Pao*, Shanghai (Kuomintang southeast China organ); *Wen Hui Pao*, Shanghai (independent; publication suspended); *Yi Shih Pao*, Shanghai, Nanking, Tientsin, Peiping (Catholic).—D.B.

Sources and dates of all quotations in this article, together with supplementary references, are given in the author's footnotes, omitted for lack of space, and filed in the *Far Eastern Survey* office.—Editor's note.

American People," written by sixty-one persons, many of them well-known. Several writers, tried to bring home to the American people that "We, Chinese, hate the civil war" and that one-sided aid would only lead to further disaster.

### Marshall's Success and Failure

Whatever ill feeling there was toward the United States was dispelled by the success of the first months of the Marshall mission. The main results achieved were a cease-fire order intended to effect a temporary truce between the Communists and the Kuomintang; and a Political Consultative Conference in which representatives of the Kuomintang, the Communists, and minor parties agreed to plans for fundamental reforms involving a reorganization of the army and a constitutional government to include all factions.

In March 1946 General Marshall left for a brief trip home. The groundwork of peace had been laid but it had still to be implemented. Many liberals looked to General Marshall with a hope that reflected the intensity of their feeling that civil war must at all costs be avoided. "All of the Chinese people," the *Wen Hui Pao* wrote, "hope that General Marshall will return at the earliest possible moment. He alone fully understands the feelings and hopes of the Chinese people. Only a foreigner can settle the dispute in China. . . . We say this with a sense of shame."

During General Marshall's absence the situation in China changed disastrously for the worse. The Central Executive Committee of the Kuomintang passed a series of resolutions which were generally regarded as nullifying the agreements that had just been concluded. The Communists charged, and most liberals agreed, that such a show of bad faith undermined all efforts at peace. The hope that had been placed in General Marshall as the one person who might effect a solution was strengthened by the general feeling of desperation. Again urging General Marshall to return to China quickly, the *Wen Hui Pao* said: "If there is still a ray of hope for peace in China it is in your hands."

General Marshall's return in the middle of April did not, however, result in any substantial change. The relationship of the Communists and the Kuomintang continued to deteriorate and in June 1946 serious fighting broke out in Manchuria.

It was after General Marshall's return that the confidence of many liberals in the Marshall mission turned into a profound distrust. The belief became widespread that during General Marshall's trip to Washington the State Department had decided to adopt a new policy in China. It was assumed that the cause of this decision was the growing hostility between the United States and the Soviet Union; and that its result would be an effort to strengthen the Nanking government as a defense

against Russia. From this time on, liberals accused the United States of following a "soft policy" of, on the one hand, assisting the Kuomintang and on the other, attempting to mediate between the Kuomintang and the Communists. As time went by, liberals blamed the United States increasingly for encouraging the Nanking government to wage "all-out war" against the Communists by furnishing it with aid in various forms.

The change from hope to disillusionment was reflected in the intense bitterness that became characteristic of liberal writings. In a "Letter to Marshall," twenty of the leading scholars of China wrote: "We cannot help pointing out that all of the weapons, equipment, and transport facilities that the Kuomintang troops are using to attack and murder the Chinese people are being supplied by the United States." In an editorial addressed to the American people the *Wen Hui Pao* showed that it had undergone a complete change of feeling: "You profess to have come to save the Chinese people but in reality you are helping to massacre them." An article in *Chow Pao* in August declared that the close of the tragedy between China and Japan had only led to the start of a tragedy between China and the United States. If the misunderstanding and hostility between the Chinese people and the American government continued, the writer feared, they might lead to another Mukden or Lukochiao incident. Even the usually moderate *Ta Kung Pao* accused the United States of adopting a policy that would lead to international intervention. A year later the *Ta Kung Pao* was to go much further and denounce American foreign policy as "arrogant and narrow-minded" on the basis that the United States was making use of other nations for the sake of furthering its own aims of world domination.

### Conservative Opinion

If good will toward the United States fell, as one writer remarked, "100,000 ft" on the liberal side during the Marshall mission, it had an equally drastic fall on the conservative side shortly thereafter. While General Marshall was in China, and immediately following his return to the United States, the conservative press remained relatively silent on the subject of American policy. This was in part owing to the general assumption that the substantial assistance which the United States was furnishing to the Nanking government would be continued. It was also based on the fact that as the Nationalists were in a better position than the Communists, large-scale aid did not seem vitally urgent.

Conditions changed, however, in the spring of 1947. First the Truman Doctrine and then the Marshall Plan were announced with their emphasis on Europe to the exclusion of Asia. The time limit on the \$500 million loan which China had expected from the Export-Import Bank expired without the loan being granted. These

developments coincided with a rapid deterioration in the economic and military position of the Nationalist government, which by June reached a point that caused a minor panic among officials in Nanking. The government was forced to face the fact that a great increase in American aid was desperately needed, but that it might not be forthcoming. As a consequence most conservative newspapers used every means in their power—arguing, cajoling, bullying—to persuade the United States that the flow of American aid was wholly inadequate and should be raised to a level comparable to that proposed for Europe.

### "Pleasing" the United States

The first line pursued by the conservative press was an attempt to please the United States. As America was hostile to the Soviet Union, it was assumed that China would profit by adopting the same attitude. Conservative papers therefore abandoned their previous policy of proclaiming a strict neutrality between America and Russia and began to attack the Soviet Union. The *Sin Wen Pao*, the largest newspaper in Shanghai, declared that Russian aggression was forcing the Chinese government to take sides. When, in June 1947, Outer Mongolian and Nationalist troops clashed in an area where the border between Outer Mongolia and Sinkiang is poorly defined, the incident, regarded by foreign correspondents as having little if any political significance, was interpreted by the conservative press as an attack instigated by the Soviet Union. Similarly the defeats of the Nationalist forces in Manchuria in 1947 were attributed to Soviet activities. An editorial campaign was conducted simultaneously against what was termed the "abandonment" of the Nationalist government by the United States.

It looked for a moment as though these tactics might be successful. In July Washington announced the appointment of General Wedemeyer as special envoy to China to conduct a fact-finding survey. The conservative press throughout the country hailed the Wedemeyer mission as a sign of change in American policy that would result in the extension of the Marshall Plan to the Far East. General Wedemeyer was greeted as a friend of President Chiang, the best possible emissary to dispel misunderstandings between China and the United States.

The hopes raised by the Wedemeyer mission assumed extravagant proportions only to be followed by a disappointment that was equally extreme. In a speech given behind closed doors to officials in Nanking and in a message addressed to the public on his departure, Wedemeyer expressed views similar to those embodied in Marshall's farewell statement. Responsibility for the chaotic conditions in China was placed to a considerable extent on the extreme reactionaries in the Kuomintang.

Nor was there any indication that the State Department intended to revise its policy toward China.

Newspapers controlled by the CC clique, which was generally regarded as one of the main objects of American censure, were especially resentful of Wedemeyer's criticism. In a series of angry editorials the *Shun Pao* in Shanghai declared that the Wedemeyer mission had been a waste of time and energy. It advised the Chinese government to stop looking for help from others and learn to solve its own problems. It was evident, the paper said, that the State Department would continue to give only lip service to the idea of aiding China and if pressed would become even more arrogant. The *Sin Wen Pao* asserted that Wedemeyer's message was a unique document in the history of China's foreign relations. That the United States should think it had the right to give the Chinese people such elementary advice could only be regarded with indignation. The Tientsin edition of the Catholic *Yi Shih Pao* asserted that such scolding words from a foreigner were like a "box on the ears" and that the only solution lay in self-reliance.

The editorials that appeared at the end of the Wedemeyer mission were the first expression of unrestrained hostility to the United States on the part of the conservative press. Throughout the past year this hostility has deepened until today it would be difficult to find a single editorial written in praise of America. Conservative resentment was mainly due to two factors. First, the story of the Wedemeyer mission—a story of apparent promise of aid with no fulfillment—was constantly repeated, producing a cumulative anger toward the United States. Second, as conditions deteriorated, the Chinese government developed an increasing dependence on America until it assumed the attitude that the United States was responsible for all of the affairs of China. It gradually became evident that if the United States wanted to preserve the good will of the conservative factions, it would have not only to support them but to support them in a way that would ensure success. To furnish assistance that ended in failure was to incur blame for everything that had happened.

### The Aid-to-China Movement

No sooner had the agitation over the Wedemeyer mission subsided than hope was renewed by the appearance of an aid-to-China movement in the United States. In October Mr. Bullitt's article asking for \$1,350,000,000 for China was published in *Life*. The article was widely commented on in the conservative Chinese press, which thought it might serve as an antidote to the Wedemeyer report. A few weeks later Governor Dewey delivered a speech accusing the Truman Administration of bankruptcy in its dealings with China and demanding the immediate adoption of a two-ocean policy that would take account of Asia as well as of Europe. At the same

time Republicans both in and out of Congress began to exert pressure to force the Administration to increase its support of the Nationalist government. An amendment was added to the emergency relief bill providing \$60 million for China.

These developments were followed with intense enthusiasm and interest by the conservative press in China. But when the \$60 million was pared down to \$18 million, the *Sin Wen Pao* declared that so small a sum looked like a rebuke rather than an encouragement to the Chinese people. General Tu Yu-ming's paper in Peiping, the *Hsin Shen Pao*, compared the \$18 million to a crust of bread and asserted that in view of the State Department's past performance not more than two or three crusts could be expected even from a long-term program.

Optimism was revived when in January Senator Bridges addressed an open letter to Secretary Marshall accusing him of endangering American interests in Asia and calling for the immediate formulation of a program for China comparable to ERP. A month later President Truman in a special message to Congress asked for an appropriation of \$570 million for China, with the limited objective of giving the Chinese government a respite from the rapidly deteriorating economic situation. The Administration's program was vigorously criticized by such well-known persons as General Chennault, Senators Taft and Bridges, Representative Judd, and Mr. Bullitt, who asserted that \$570 million was not sufficient. In the end, Congress appropriated only \$400 million.

### Reaction to China Appropriation

Conservative newspapers in China fastened their hopes on the aid-to-China movement. Apparently operating according to a directive from the Chinese government, they declared that \$570 million would prove wholly inadequate. Funds were needed, they said, not only for a reconstruction program such as the State Department had in mind but also for currency reforms that would stop the rapidly increasing inflation. They insisted further that economic help would not be effective unless supplemented by military assistance. When the amount of China aid was cut to \$400 million by the House Appropriations Committee under the chairmanship of Representative John Taber, the *Jih Pao*, a prominent Kuomintang newspaper in Peiping, expressed its own and others' anger in an editorial entitled: "Taber Is a Great Fool!"

This was by no means an isolated example of the effects of constant frustration on Chinese conservatives who wanted so much more than the United States was willing to give. Many writers in the pro-government press asserted or implied that the American people should consider the fact that they were not granting aid

to others out of generosity . . . but of a desire to protect their own interests. In February, for example, the *Shih Chieh Jih Pao*, a CC clique organ and the most widely read newspaper in Peiping, carried an editorial under the heading "Who Is Willing to Shed Blood for Others?" which said:

We have pointed out again and again that all American projects of aid for foreign countries . . . are contemplated with American interests in mind. These projects are of the same nature as the lend-lease program . . . of the last war. It will be recalled that Byrnes frankly admitted in his memoirs that the lend-lease program was adopted so that the American people might shed more drops of sweat and less of blood. This is tantamount to admitting that the United States wanted other people to bleed more so that the American people would bleed less.

Recipients of American aid, including China, had no desire to bleed for others, the paper declared. The charge that American aid was entirely a matter of self-interest was made even in official newspapers like the *Min Kuo Jih Pao* in Tientsin and the *Hua Pei Jih Pao* in Peiping.

### Europe's Aid Priority Questioned

The United States was accused of following its own interests not only exclusively but also unintelligently. Many editorials were written to prove that America was making a mistake by insisting on the principle of "Europe first" in bolstering the anti-Communist front in the cold war against Russia. While this argument was in part designed to impress Americans, it had a special emotional content for Chinese. Many remembered with resentment that during the second World War the United States had given priority to military campaigns in Europe and Africa at what they believed was the expense of China.

While the \$570 million aid program was being discussed by Congress, statements were constantly made such as that of the *Shih Chieh Jih Pao*, which declared that the crisis in Asia was "thousands upon thousands of times more grave" than that in Europe, and that the United States should undertake an aid-to-China program as large as the Marshall Plan. This theme was played upon in an ever-rising crescendo until today it is an important part of the editorial policy of most conservative newspapers. The official *Chung Yang Jih Pao* recently (November 1948) published a series of editorials in Shanghai in which it declared that:

Asia is the principal goal of the Communist International in implementing its traditional world revolutionary strategy and in its current effort at expansion. This is evidenced by the spread of Communist influence in the countries of southeast Asia and the activities of the Communist joint army in the Northeast and Korea. However, the efforts which the Western Powers have made during the past two years and more to prevent aggression by totalitarian Communism have consistently been based on the traditional "Europe first" con-

cept. They have ignored the grave crisis confronting Asia and have allowed the Communist International to implement its ambitions in East Asia unchecked. Now facts show that the world-wide crisis is going to explode first in Asia.

The *Chiu Kuo Jih Pao* in Nanking carried the idea that the United States must defend itself in Asia to the point of saying that if America did not have enough forces to fight the Chinese Communists, it should arm and dispatch Japanese troops. (Rumors that America is preparing to do this are current in China today, but usually call forth violent criticism.)

During the winter of 1947-48 arguments were constantly advanced to show that the United States was acting inconsistently. The *Sin Wen Pao*, in a number of editorials typical of conservative writings, asked why the United States was discriminating against China. Was this discrimination based on Marshall's and Wedemeyer's objections to the "undemocratic" character of the Nanking government? If so, why was the United States applying more rigid standards to China than to other countries such as Japan, Germany, Greece, Turkey, and Siam, where it was making every effort to strengthen right-wing groups? Moreover, the *Sin Wen Pao* declared, it was hard to understand what the United States meant by the word "undemocratic." If democracy implied cooperation between Nanking and the Chinese Communists, Washington was certainly behaving illogically. In Europe, it refused to apply the Marshall Plan to governments that included Communists. Within the United States itself, widespread purges were being conducted to oust "Reds" from the Administration and from propaganda centers such as Hollywood.

While during the first part of the debate on the aid-to-China program in Congress blame was not directed against individuals, it was later centered on General Marshall. When, on February 20, the Secretary of State told the House Committee on Foreign Affairs that he was in favor of only limited aid to China, an anti-Marshall campaign began in the Chinese papers. Marshall's views were ascribed to personal pique owing to the failure of his mission in China. The *Sin Wen Pao* declared that General Marshall, instead of assisting the democratic forces of China so that they could defend themselves against "fierce attack" was, owing to bias and obstinacy, passively watching their destruction. Such a policy, it said, amounted to appeasement of the Chinese Communists and would relegate General Marshall to a place in history inferior even to that of Neville Chamberlain. Many newspapers continued to speak of General Marshall in the same vein. In October 1948 the *Chiu Kuo Jih Pao* published two vitriolic editorials stating that as the American people and their government were unmistakably anti-Communist, General Marshall's refusal, born of a "personal grudge," to aid the Nationalists made him a "traitor" to his country.

From the time of the Wedemeyer mission on, conservatives in China alternated between urgent demands for help from the United States and angry rejections of any hint of assistance. The remark found most frequently in editorials was that China must not look to others for support but must seek "regeneration" through her own efforts. This idea was repeatedly linked with expressions of intense nationalism. Every political issue was discussed in terms of whether China was being treated as an equal of the United States. Certain concepts were constantly reiterated, such as that China must not become a vassal of the United States, that America was ignoring China's status as an independent nation, that the American people were "humiliating" the Chinese. "The American public," the *Sin Wen Pao* exclaimed, "has long since ceased to look upon the Chinese as spiritual equals." The *Shih Chieh Jih Pao* went so far as to imply that if Sino-American relations continued in their present state, China would cease to be autonomous "within two years." The same paper also remarked that while agitation in favor of American aid was intended to benefit China, it had, on the contrary, mainly produced insulting and derogatory comments in the United States.

Had these criticisms appeared in the liberal press they would have been denounced by the Kuomintang as part of a Communist-inspired movement designed to create friction between the United States and China. In reality they followed the pattern of the right wing of the Kuomintang, which is traditionally ultra-nationalistic. Many factors are involved in the nationalistic comments of the conservative press, such as the belief that to denounce every sign of foreign "superiority" will stimulate support from the Chinese people and will prove a good bargaining point abroad. However, there are many groups within the Kuomintang whose feeling of nationalism is strongly charged with hostility to other countries. Those who cry loudest for American help are often those who dislike the United States most.

### Crises Intensify Criticism

After Congress appropriated \$400 million for aid to China in June 1948, criticism of American policy in the conservative press not only continued but became even harsher. This was owing to the pressure brought upon the Nationalist government by the deepening military and economic crisis, which made foreign assistance seem to be the only means of preventing disaster. Under these circumstances the tendency of the conservative forces in China to blame the United States for their failure became little short of a driving compulsion.

After the loss of Manchuria in October many of the most influential conservative newspapers placed the responsibility for the defeat of the Nationalist armies on the United States. The official line was translated into

blunt language by the *Shanghai Yi Shih Pao*, which said that "the crux of the China problem today is traceable to the betrayal of this country by the United States in the secret Yalta Pact." This idea was developed by the *Chung Yang Jih Pao*, which asserted that it was the Yalta Conference that made it possible for the Soviet troops to remain in the Northeast after V-J Day and strengthen the hands of the Chinese Communists. The tone of the press revealed the intensity of feeling against the United States even more than specific accusations:

We must point out that the . . . situation, particularly the military situation, has changed from the previous state of absolute superiority to the present state of absolute inferiority. This startling turn of things has been the result of the great change in the China policy of the United States during the last three years. For when the Soviet Union launched large-scale support of the Communist army in Manchuria, the Government built its faith on the repeatedly declared aid-China policy of the United States. Unfortunately the National Government did not anticipate that the United States has now no regard for good faith. [*Yi Shih Pao*, Shanghai, October 25, 1948.]

The White House, for unknown reasons, has adopted an entirely enigmatic attitude. It was at first planned to force the Chinese Government into the trap of the opposing group and, when this failed, discrimination was exercised against China in the foreign aid program to the extent of placing obstacles over the export of arms. If we compare the situation to one of personal relationships it seems to us that if a person had previously got a friend into trouble and sees him suffering therefrom, the person should render all assistance in his power to the friend. . . . However the White House has been acting in precisely the opposite fashion. [*Sin Wen Pao*, Shanghai, November 2, 1948.]

The one point at which the opinions of Chinese conservatives and liberals met was that American policy was doomed to failure. Most liberals maintained that the United States would not furnish sufficient aid to keep the Nationalist government in power. They were convinced that the only effect of American policy was to prolong the civil war. As the war continued from year to year, bringing death, starvation, and suffering to the Chinese people, feeling against the United States increased for the role it was thought to be playing. This feeling was shared with equal intensity by people of all shades of progressive conviction. In March 1947 Professor Chang Tung-sun, a well-known liberal on the faculty of Yenching University, wrote that American aid could do nothing but "augment the misery of the Chinese people." Six months later the North China Students' Federation in a letter to General Wedemeyer declared that "the Chinese people will never forget that it was the American people that maintained and expanded the civil war." Recently (August 1948) an article in *Hsin Lu*, organ of the China Social and Economic Research Institute at Peiping, ended with "aid for Europe is for reconstruction; aid for China is for massacre."

As the war dragged on it had a marked effect on liberal thinking. After V-J Day liberals hoped that the Kuomintang might reform. Gradually the majority turned away from the Nationalist government with a disillusionment whose intensity was in part a measure of their own suffering. They came to look upon the government in Nanking as the enemy of all they longed for: peace and stability and progress. As the United States was supporting the Nanking government, they regarded it as an ally of the forces to which they were bitterly opposed.

Owing to the constant tightening of censorship these views were expressed with restraint, if at all, in published writings. The one group which spoke without hesitation was the students. In the letter to General Wedemeyer already referred to, the North China Students' Federation declared with a bluntness characteristic of the modern Chinese student that "We despise your aid to the anti-democratic [government?] which is the enemy of our people." A student pamphlet discussing the Wedemeyer mission asserted that the Chinese government was "under the control of a group of reactionary, autocratic individuals" who would never effect genuine reforms and expressed the hope that the United States would "realize this in time."

While most of the press, whether liberal or conservative, concentrated on American policy in China, the *Ta Kung Pao*, the most influential of the independent newspapers, was concerned with American foreign policy as a whole. In a "Letter to the People of the United States," written in October 1947, it spoke frankly of the diminishing friendship of the Chinese and American people, placing most of the blame on the United States. The letter said in substance: The Chinese people look to America for world leadership; they conceive of leadership in terms of strengthening the Anglo-American type of democracy; but the United States seeks to dominate the world by means of money and power. In many subsequent editorials the *Ta Kung Pao* accused the United States of denying its democratic heritage in both domestic and foreign policies.

### Fear of U.S. Japan Policy

Criticism of American policy in China was reinforced by criticism of American policy in Japan. The intensity of Chinese opposition to the MacArthur regime had its source in the overpowering fear of a resurgence of Japanese aggression. This fear was felt by most Chinese, and both conservative and liberal publications attacked American policies in Japan with equal vigor up to the spring of 1948.

The aim of American policy was generally regarded by the Chinese press as being the reconstruction of Japan to serve as a military and economic base for the United States in a war against the Soviet Union.

The *Ta Kung Pao*, the most conspicuous and untiring critic of American actions in Japan, warned its readers to discount all assertions that American aid to Japan was for the betterment of the Japanese people. Even the official *Chung Yang Jih Pao* said that far from benefiting the Japanese people, American policy would drag them into another tragic war. Many editorials presented detailed data to prove that the United States was by direct and indirect methods rebuilding the Japanese army, navy, and air force. In October 1947 Mr. Wang Yun-sen, editor-in-chief of the *Ta Kung Pao*, charged the United States with having transformed Japan into a fortress.

American economic plans for Japan were denounced with few qualifications. The United States was accused of recreating Japan's industrial and war potential; of developing the Japanese market in order to monopolize it; and of reviving the principle of "an industrial Japan and an agricultural China" which was anathema to the Chinese people. The *Ta Kung Pao* expressed more than its own feeling when it stated that the United States was realizing the dream of a New Order in Asia which the Japanese had been forced to abandon.

### Dr. Stuart and the Students

In the spring of 1948 students throughout China organized a movement of protest against American policy in Japan. This reached such proportions that Mr. John M. Cabot, American Consul General in Shanghai, delivered an address on Memorial Day in which he said that in response to the students' activities many Americans would

bitterly retort that students getting their education through the beneficence of Americans who have contributed their mite to knowledge and understanding—students whose very food depends upon the labor of the American farmer and the generosity of the American taxpayer—should not spread calumnies against the United States. There will be passionate demands that we should stop our aid program and leave China to her own devices.

A few days later Ambassador J. Leighton Stuart issued a statement on the "campaign against American policy in Japan," in which he attacked the position of the students and sought to justify the United States. In conclusion he declared: "If those of you who agitate or who participate in the agitation against the United States on the question of Japan disagree with what I have said, then you must be prepared to face the consequences of your actions." Mr. Cabot spoke of the students as being "misled" by "sinister propaganda" and the Ambassador implied that they were allowing themselves to be utilized for "some clandestine purpose," which could only be construed as meaning that the student movement was Communist-instigated.

These statements did not improve the situation. Many

Chinese felt it an affront to personal and national dignity that diplomatic representatives of the United States felt free to threaten and rebuke [redacted] of China. The students, including those of Dr. Stuart's own university, Yenching, responded with strikes, demonstrations, and written declarations of their resentment, and were supported by many faculty members. A group of well-known scholars at Tsinghua published a joint statement in *Hsin Lu* saying that "Mr. Stuart's threatening warning could serve no purpose other than to arouse the Chinese people's contempt for America and strengthen their determination to oppose the rebuilding of Japan." Over four hundred teachers in the universities of Peiping signed an open letter to Dr. Stuart which was partly intended to reject the implication that the student movement was Communist: "Is it only after every Chinese has submitted himself to your Government's policy of assisting Japanese militarism to butcher China, that they will be exonerated from the stigma of being 'utilized'?" By way of further protest a campaign was started to refuse all American relief supplies, which gained many adherents among both faculty and students in the universities.

A profound indignation was also shown in progressive publications. The Shanghai edition of the *Sin Min Wan Pao* said that according to Chinese standards the giving and receiving of a kindness was not a business transaction. If Americans believed that in return for aid the Chinese people would forfeit their integrity and independence of thought they were indeed mistaken; the Chinese people had not yet reached the point where they called "any woman who has milk mother." Even the customarily reserved *Shih Chi Ping Lun (The Century Critic)* published an article denouncing Dr. Stuart's statement as one of a long series of incidents that had transformed the affection of the Chinese for the United States into hostile resentment. One nation may be weak and another strong, it said; but to assume the attitude of a superior to a subordinate can only create hatred.

### Liberal-Conservative Split on Japan

The Ambassador's statement caused a split between liberal and conservative publications, which up to this time had agreed about American policy in Japan. Conservative newspapers began to reject the views they had been advocating in their own columns for the past two years. Many large conservative papers published editorials so similar in content that it is safe to assume that they were following a detailed directive from the government. The Ambassador's words were greeted as "friendly," "sympathetic," and "moving." A sharp distinction was made between the outcry of the students against American policy in Japan and similar denunciations by others, especially people in industrial and commercial circles. The student agitation was described as

nothing more than Communist propaganda. Other groups, however, were also told that their criticisms were not well founded.

Important newspapers in Shanghai offered what amounted to an apologia for American policy in Japan. The *Chung Yang Jih Pao* argued that American policy was based, first, on humanitarian considerations, and second, on the need to stabilize conditions in the Far East. The *Shun Pao*, in a special article written by its news editor after a trip to Japan, took the position that America's attempts to strengthen Japan internally were motivated by the desire to prevent the spread of Communism, not by a wish to reestablish Japan as a great power. Readers were reassured that Japan could not recover her military strength and that it would take at least twenty years to raise her industrial production to its prewar level. Similar arguments were offered by Mr. Hu Chiu-yuen, a member of the Legislative Yuan, in an article in the Nanking edition of the *Chung Yang Jih Pao*, in which the writer declared that "since V-J Day I have come to believe that fostering Japan should be our national policy," and concluded with the assertion that "During the Japanese invasion only traitors insisted on cooperation between Japan and China but at the present time only traitors would oppose cooperation between these two countries."

The main motive behind this shift in attitude was frankly stated. It was feared that widespread criticism of American policy in Japan would cause the United States to refuse aid to the Nationalist government. But such conspicuous signs of a desire to please the United States only gave more point to the liberal criticism that China was rapidly being transformed into "an appendage" of America. Even the youth corps paper, *Nan Ching Jih Pao*, said that "In foreign relations the more one wags one's tail the less respect one gets." To many Chinese who had believed that after the dissolution of the old treaty system their government would act with independence, the charge of subservience was a severe accusation.

The loss of good will toward the United States which is apparent among so many groups in China has, in the writer's opinion, not yet affected the friendliness with which the average Chinese has traditionally accepted the average American. This may be because Chinese thinking draws a sharper line between the government and the people of a nation than is customary in democratic countries.

### The Atrocity Reports

One group of Americans has, however, become the target of serious criticism, namely, American servicemen stationed in China since the war. The incident of December 1946, involving the alleged rape of a Chinese student by an American marine, was the best known of

the so-called "atrocities," b... was only one of an appalling number. Accounts of atrocities, real or imaginary, began to be published soon after American troops landed in east China. There were tales of theft, rape, beatings, killing people through reckless driving, torture and murder. The feeling these stories created is apparent in the following excerpt from a "Letter to Americans Who Have Sons and Daughters," published by a novelist and playwright, Mr. Chen Pai-chen, in *Wen Tsui* in October 1946:

Please put yourselves in our position and imagine the following: One year after the end of the second World War armed forces of an allied nation are still stationed in your country. . . . They drive their jeeps recklessly, knocking down or running over you, Americans—mostly women and children. They flirt with your girls or even rape them, and if resistance is offered, they kick them and beat them. When they get drunk, they beat up people in the street and if someone is beaten to death they just walk away heedlessly and without remorse. If this happened to you would you not be heartbroken, become bitter, indignant, and resentful? Please forgive me, dear kind-hearted ladies and gentlemen. I do not want to upset you but what I have related is a fact: here stationed in China are such troops and they are American.

Though many of the American troops have left China, reports of "atrocities" have continued to appear. In October 1948, for example, several newspapers in Shanghai carried a statement issued by employees of the local American Marine Club which accused one of the members of torturing an employee for "about sixteen hours" by tying him to a steam pipe and hitting

him "wantonly with . . . and a leather belt." When, in the same month, some American soldiers became involved in a brawl with a small group of Chinese boy scouts at the Hsin Sheng School in Nanking, the Nanking newspapers emphasized the incident to the extent of printing 198 stories and articles dealing with it, within two weeks. Such accounts were not confined to the daily press but appeared in magazines presumably not concerned with purely sensational material. Both *Kwan Cha* and *Shih Yu Wen* printed articles describing the torture of Chinese workmen by American marines at Tsingtao. The account in *Shih Yu Wen* compared the conduct of the American troops to that of the Japanese in China, a bitter analogy which is only too frequently drawn. Even if these tales were partial or complete fabrications, the fact that they were published and believed by the Chinese people made them politically significant.

During the last few years the United States has been following a policy of limited aid to the Nationalist government of China. This policy cannot of course be judged solely by its effect on Chinese opinion. Good will is, however, an important factor in international relations, and in terms of securing Chinese good will American policy has been a conspicuous failure.

The price of that failure will depend on the course of events now in the making. But whatever policy the United States pursues in the future, it will have to take into account the grave, if not tragic, extent to which our traditional asset in China has fallen.

## RESISTANCE IN INDONESIA

BY GEORGE McT. KAHIN

Batavia  
January 22, 1949

THE DUTCH ATTACK LAUNCHED on December 19, 1948, against the Republic of Indonesia was designed to impose a speedy settlement of the Dutch-Indonesian dispute along lines dictated by the Dutch. Enlisted men and officers of the Dutch army were indoctrinated with the idea that once the principal Republican leaders and Republican cities (Jogjakarta in particular) were captured, resistance to the Dutch would collapse. They were told that their purpose was the release of the Sultan of Jogjakarta from three years of captivity within the Republic. Their marching order was "On to Jogja to free the Sultan!"

All the principal cities of Java are now in Dutch hands. But Republican resistance has not collapsed—indeed, it has reached unprecedented proportions. The Sultan of Jogjakarta, who during the past three years has not only been free but has also been one of the most

energetic and esteemed leaders of the Republican government, is now a voluntary prisoner in his own palace, refusing to have any contact with the Dutch.

The Dutch did succeed in capturing many of the top Republican leaders: Sukarno, Hatta, Sjahrir, and half the Cabinet.<sup>1</sup> Six cabinet members, however, are now in Republican-controlled areas. Aside from Sjafrudin Prawiranegara, Minister of Economic Affairs, who was in Sumatra at the time of the attack and who was appointed head of the Emergency Republican Government by Sukarno and Hatta shortly before the latter were captured, these escaped leaders include Dr. Sukiman, Minister of the Interior and chairman of the Republic's largest political party (Masjumi), and Supeno, Minister

<sup>1</sup> The seven ministers captured are Hadji Agus Salim (Foreign Affairs), Mohammed Natir (Information), F. Laoh (Public Works), Djuanda (Transportation), Dr. Leimena (Health), Dr. Ali Sastroamidjojo (Education), and Kusnan (Social Affairs).

of Youth and Reconstruction.<sup>2</sup> Many other outstanding political leaders likewise escaped, among them Tan Malaka of the anti-Muso Communists, and the heads of the Indonesian Nationalist Party, the Indonesian Socialist Party, the Proletariat Party, and the Indonesian Islamic Youth Movement.

The thousands of Dutch soldiers with more than two years' service in the Indies who were due to be sent home several months ago are particularly bitter. Told that they would be sent home once Jogjakarta was captured, they now find that the fighting has just begun, and their feelings toward the "brass" in Batavia are not kindly.<sup>3</sup> Java, Sumatra, and even southeast Borneo are surging with resistance. Although their armored columns continue to attack concentrations of Indonesian troops, the Dutch are in general on the defensive. They are losing control of towns to Indonesian forces; plantations are being abandoned, motor roads becoming impassable, and most railroad lines going out of commission. Sea and air are the only safe routes for travel between major cities. The cities of Malang, Bandjanegara, and Tjikamppek are frequently reported to have been attacked heavily by Republican army units. The Dutch posts around Jogjakarta and Surakarta are attacked almost nightly. The situation is so critical in the Madiun area that the Dutch are forced to supply that garrison by air. Republican troops are operating close to Cheribon and have made repeated attacks on towns within ten miles of Surabaya, where the Dutch have been unable to garrison the city itself for lack of troops.

### Jogjakarta: Three Weeks Later

The situation in Jogjakarta three weeks after its capture by the Dutch can be reported on the basis of the writer's own observations.<sup>4</sup> It had become for the most part a city of women, children, and old men. A majority of the young men had gone to the countryside to fight from there; many of the remainder were Chinese. Few people ventured outside their houses.

Jogjakarta is not under complete Dutch control. Its central area and its eastern and northern suburbs are

2 Kasimo (Food), Susanto (Justice), and Maskoer (Religion) are in Republican-controlled territory, while Maramis (Finance) is outside the country.

3 Conclusions as to the indoctrination and present outlook of Dutch soldiers were reached after personal interviews with many of them, and are reinforced by the experiences of other interviewers in the combat areas.

4 After having left Jogjakarta on December 19 following its bombing and invasion by the Dutch, the writer revisited the city from January 6 to January 10 as a correspondent for Overseas News Agency. The Dutch originally authorized him to remain until January 13. He was apparently finding out more than they wished him to know, for on January 9 he was placed under house arrest in his hotel by the chief intelligence officer in Jogjakarta, and on the following day was forced to leave by plane for Batavia.

Dutch-occupied, with a garrison whose strength is estimated to consist of 10 thousand troops, ten Stuart tanks, and a large number of armored cars and Bren carriers. But much of the periphery of the city is either no-man's-land or actually occupied by Republican troops. The Dutch informed the writer that several areas of the city to which he wished to go were "not safe." Both Dutch and Indonesian sources affirmed that, in a major attack on the night of December 29, Republican troops penetrated to within four blocks of the city's center. On January 9 the Kemal Battalion of the Republican Army's Siliwangi Division launched a four-hour attack (supported by mortar and heavy machine-gun fire) which penetrated to the very center of the city, where the battalion continued to fight for two hours before Dutch tanks and armored cars finally forced it to withdraw.

Despite the impressive amount of Republican troop activity, the writer was told while in Jogjakarta that the areas around that city and Surakarta are not considered guerrilla areas. Two reasons have prompted Republican leaders to make this decision. First, they do not want the civilian population of these cities to suffer more than is necessary. Second, the Jogjakarta and Surakarta plains are deficit food areas, unable to support large numbers of Republican troops. Most of the troops formerly stationed in these areas have gone to the east and west, where they are now waging intensive guerrilla warfare against the Dutch. Indeed, the crack divisions of the Republican army are now operating in areas which before December 19 were known as "Dutch-occupied Java."<sup>5</sup>

Although the writer himself was not allowed to visit the environs of Jogjakarta, he talked with Indonesians who had been there. All of these Indonesians reported that a great many villages in the area have been burned by the Dutch, apparently because they have housed snipers who fired on Dutch patrols. On January 7, a day during which Indonesian units made no attack on the city, a Dutch officer informed the writer that nine Dutch soldiers were killed in the vicinity.

### Extent of Civilian Casualties

Civilian casualties have been extensive, particularly in the suburbs, according to the Indonesian Red Cross. The Red Cross, however, has no means of contact with these areas. Its one ambulance was destroyed by the Dutch in the December 19 attack; the Dutch have refused to grant them any replacement. The Central Hospital of Jogjakarta alone reports having treated 108 civilian casualties during the week of December 19-25, and sixty-one of these were treated after the Dutch had

5 The Sungkono Division of 27,000 men has crossed into East Java, while the somewhat larger Siliwangi Division, except for its Kemal Battalion, has crossed into West Java.

officially occupied the city. On December 27, twenty-five civilian casualties were treated in one hospital, twelve of whom died of their wounds. On January 4, the last day for which the writer could secure such data, six civilian casualties were treated and all of them died.<sup>6</sup>

### Food and Collaboration

Before the Dutch attack one was accustomed to seeing large numbers of ox-carts driven by peasants from the surrounding countryside, bringing food to Jogjakarta. The writer saw not one of these carts during the period of his last visit. This single fact is the best index both to the peasants' fear of the Dutch and to the status of the city's food supply. According to Mr. B. J. Muller, head of the Dutch Economic Administration in the Jogjakarta District, the food situation is extremely critical. The Dutch, he said, give food only to those who work for them; non-collaborators get nothing. Twenty tons of rice are being imported daily by the Dutch, via convoy from Semarang. Mr. Muller stated that of Jogjakarta's half-million inhabitants only 6,000 persons are working for the Dutch. He estimated that the amount of food coming into the city has dropped fifty percent since the Dutch attack.

Those few peasants who are willing to carry a little rice into town on their backs refuse to accept Dutch currency and will sell only for the Republican rupiah. The few city-dwellers who venture through no-man's-land to the countryside in search of rice carry only Republican money. The shortage of rice in the city has forced up its price. This factor, plus the refusal of many Chinese merchants to accept Republican money during the first days of the Dutch occupation, greatly inflated the Republican currency. But the peasants' attitude and the general confidence in the Republic's survival, a result of the continuing guerrilla warfare, have reversed the inflationary tendency. Most Chinese shopkeepers must accept Republican money in order to buy rice. Whereas shortly after the Dutch attack on Jogjakarta the rate between the Dutch guilder and the Republican rupiah was one to 500, it now averages about one to 130.<sup>7</sup>

The Dutch had counted on securing the collaboration of a large number of Republican leaders once they had occupied Jogjakarta. Their expectations have totally miscarried. Not one of the Republican leaders there has consented to work for them. The Sultan has refused to deal with the Dutch, as has been noted above. On January 1 he resigned as head of the Jogjakarta District

6 On January 9 the two principal hospitals in Surakarta reported that they were treating 197 civilian casualties, most of whom received their injuries well after the Dutch had officially occupied the city.

7 Before the Dutch attack the rate was one guilder to fifty rupiahs.

civil service. Out of about 10,000 civil servants formerly working in the District Mr. Muller estimates that at most 150 have agreed to work for the Dutch.

Dutch treatment of the population has certainly done little to increase collaboration. On December 19 a Dutch major lined up nine civilians and shot and killed them with his own pistol. Among them was Dr. Santoso, Secretary General of the Department of Education.<sup>8</sup> Two weeks thereafter the Dutch offered Dr. Santoso's wife, formerly a Minister of Social Affairs in the Republican government, a cabinet post in the new Dutch-sponsored government in West Java. She refused the offer.

It is unlikely that Abikusno, leader of the second largest Mohammedan political party in the Republic,<sup>9</sup> will feel inclined to cooperate with the Dutch. On December 25 three Dutch soldiers came to his house, demanded that his two sons hand over pistols which they did not possess, beat them, and carried them off to jail. The next morning the Red Cross informed Abikusno that the bodies of his sons had been found.<sup>10</sup> The official Dutch explanation of this affair is that the two boys were shot because they were out of doors after curfew.

A number of other prominent Indonesians in Jogjakarta have been shot, including Masdoelhak Nasutian, adviser to Prime Minister Hatta; Dr. Hendromartono, a former cabinet minister; and Sumarsono, a high official of the Ministry of the Interior. The latter three were shot in their homes.

8 These facts were obtained from an eyewitness. Data as to the number of deaths and manner of shooting were corroborated by the Indonesian Red Cross.

9 The Indonesian Islamic Union Party.

10 Interview with Abikusno, January 8, 1949.

## BOOKS ON THE PACIFIC AREA

### BOOKS RECEIVED

FAR EASTERN BIBLIOGRAPHY, 1947. Compiled by Gussie E. Gaskill, with the collaboration of Earl H. Pritchard and Cecil Hobbs. Ithaca, N. Y.: Cornell University Press, published for the Far Eastern Association, June 1948. 84 pp. \$2.00.

CALENDAR OF SOVIET DOCUMENTS ON FOREIGN POLICY, 1917-1941. Compiled by Jane Degras. London and New York: Royal Institute of International Affairs, 1948. 248 pp., paper. \$4.50.

DRAFT SURVEY OF MATERIALS RELATING TO COMMUNISM IN CHINA, 1927-1934. Collected by Harold R. Isaacs. Stanford, California: The Hoover Institute and Library, Stanford University, 1948. 57 pp., paper.

CHINESE IDEAS IN THE WEST. By Derk Bodde. Washington D. C.: American Council on Education, prepared for the Committee on Asiatic Studies in American Education, 1948. 42 pp., paper. \$50.

# NEWS CHRONOLOGY

January 21 to February 3, 1949

January 21: *China.* Chiang Kai-shek retires from active service as President of China, stating that he is leaving Nanking to aid the cause of peace with the Communists. Vice-President Li Tsung-jen takes over as Acting Chief Executive.

January 21: *India.* The concept of a permanent Far Eastern bloc along the lines of the Western European Union is rejected at the Asian Conference on Indonesia by Prime Minister Nehru, Australian delegate J. W. Burton, and others, who believe that the conference should confine itself to the problem of the Dutch attack on Indonesia.

January 21: *Indonesia.* The US, Cuba, China, and Norway submit to the UN Security Council a compromise resolution which leaves the Dutch in possession of the Republican territory seized in December but sets up a time-table for free elections and for the eventual withdrawal of Netherlands troops from Indonesia.

January 22: *China.* General Fu Tso-yi, encircled for more than a month, surrenders Peiping to the Communists.

January 23: *India.* The Asian Conference on Indonesia is adjourned, delegates from the nineteen participating nations demanding that the Dutch grant sovereignty to the United States of Indonesia by 1950.

January 24: *China.* Former Premier T. V. Soong announces his retirement as governor of Kwangtung province. It is reported that the Joint United States Military Advisory Group will leave China this week. Communist troops are said to have reached the northern bank of the Yangtze near Nanking.

January 24: *Japan.* Full election results indicate a decisive victory for Premier Shigeru Yoshida and the conservative Democratic Liberal Party, which has won a working majority of twenty-nine in the Diet's Lower House.

January 24: *Philippines.* At the opening of the hundred-day session of the Philippine Congress President Quirino reports a balanced budget and the virtual restoration of peace and order with regard to the Hukbalahap in Central Luzon.

January 25: *China.* Chinese Communists announce their willingness to discuss peace with Acting President Li Tsung-jen's negotiators on terms amounting to virtual surrender.

January 25: *Korea.* The (South) Korean Republic's Premier Lee Bum Suk denies North Korean charges that he instigated uprisings in Haeju, Hwanghae province, North Korea. The North Korean radio states that fourteen "South Korean terrorists" have been arrested and the rebellion suppressed.

January 27: *Burma.* It is reported that rebel warfare has stopped service on the Rangoon-Mandalay line, the capital's last rail link with the rest of the country.

January 27: *Korea.* South Korean police report that units of the North Korean People's Army have invaded a village in South Korea.

January 27: *United States.* The ECA announces that US aid to China (about \$50,000,000 remaining in the appropriation) will continue "until further notice."

January 28: *Burma.* A government spokesman announces the loss of Bassein, second largest port in the Irrawaddy delta, to the Karen rebels.

January 28: *Indonesia.* The US-sponsored compromise resolution on Indonesia is adopted by the Security Council

over the objections of the Netherlands, the Indonesian Republic, and the Soviet Union.

January 29: *China.* The Communist radio repeats that the arrest of Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek and other "war criminals" must precede any peace talks. The North Shensi radio cites the surrender of Peiping as an example of how the Communists propose to deal with sixteen other Nationalist centers.

January 29: *Japan.* The Socialist party declines a Communist proposal for the formation of a "united front" of those opposed to the government of Premier Yoshida.

January 30: *Korea.* *Pravda* announces that Soviet Foreign Minister Molotov has received Du En Kha as the first ambassador to Moscow from the North Korean government. An advance party of the UN Commission on Korea arrives in Seoul.

January 31: *Burma.* Government sources announce that a force of entrenched Karen rebels have surrendered after a battle in the outskirts of Rangoon.

January 31: *India.* Renewed outbreaks in Hyderabad culminate in troop and police action killing one person and injuring six others.

January 31: *Indonesia.* It is reported that the five Western Union foreign ministers who met in London last week have privately agreed to oppose any proposal to impose sanctions on the Netherlands in connection with the Indonesian situation.

February 2: *China.* Acting President Li is reported considering flight into Communist territory to try for peace. US Vice Admiral Badger announces a plan to shift Western Pacific Naval headquarters from Tsingtao to Shanghai. Liquidation of the ECA offices in Peiping and Tientsin is ordered by the Shanghai headquarters of the organization.

February 2: *Korea.* The South Korean Minister of Home Affairs states that the invasion by 1,000 North Korean troops is "definitely not a guerrilla action." The government of South Korea applies for membership in the United Nations.

February 3: *Korea.* Prime Minister Lee Bum Suk describes the border clashes as an "indication that the North Korean Communist regime is testing the strength of our defenses, with the intention of mounting an invasion of South Korea."

The FAR EASTERN SURVEY accepts no responsibility for the accuracy of items in the "News Chronology." The chronology is based on reports in the *New York Herald Tribune* and the *New York Times*. It is prepared by Arthur N. Feraru.

## FAR EASTERN SURVEY

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PUBLISHED FORTNIGHTLY BY THE AMERICAN INSTITUTE OF PACIFIC RELATIONS, INC., 1 EAST 54TH ST., NEW YORK 22, N. Y. RAY LYMAN WILBUR, Chairman; CLAYTON LANE, Executive Secretary; DONALD B. STRAUS, Treasurer; KATRINE R. C. GREENE, Assistant Secretary; TILLIE G. SHAHN, Assistant Treasurer. ANNUAL SUBSCRIPTION, \$6.00; SINGLE COPIES, 25c.

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FAR EASTERN SURVEY

Office Mem.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

WILMINGTON • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT.

TO : Director, F.B.I.

DATE: March 11, 1949

FROM: SAC - New York

SUBJECT: INSTITUTE OF PACIFIC RELATIONS  
INTERNAL SECURITY-C

Submitted herewith is a notice of a dinner sponsored by the Institute of Pacific Relations to be held on March 15, 1949, in honor of EDWARD C. CARTER, Ambassador PHILIP C. JESSUP is to be a principal speaker. It is pointed out that LOUIS BUDENZ has stated that CARTER was under Communist Party discipline.

Also enclosed are lists of books sponsored by the Institute of Pacific Relations.

This is furnished for the Bureau's information.

Enclosures: (3)

3/15/49  
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Declassify on: OADR

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to [redacted] with C.C.  
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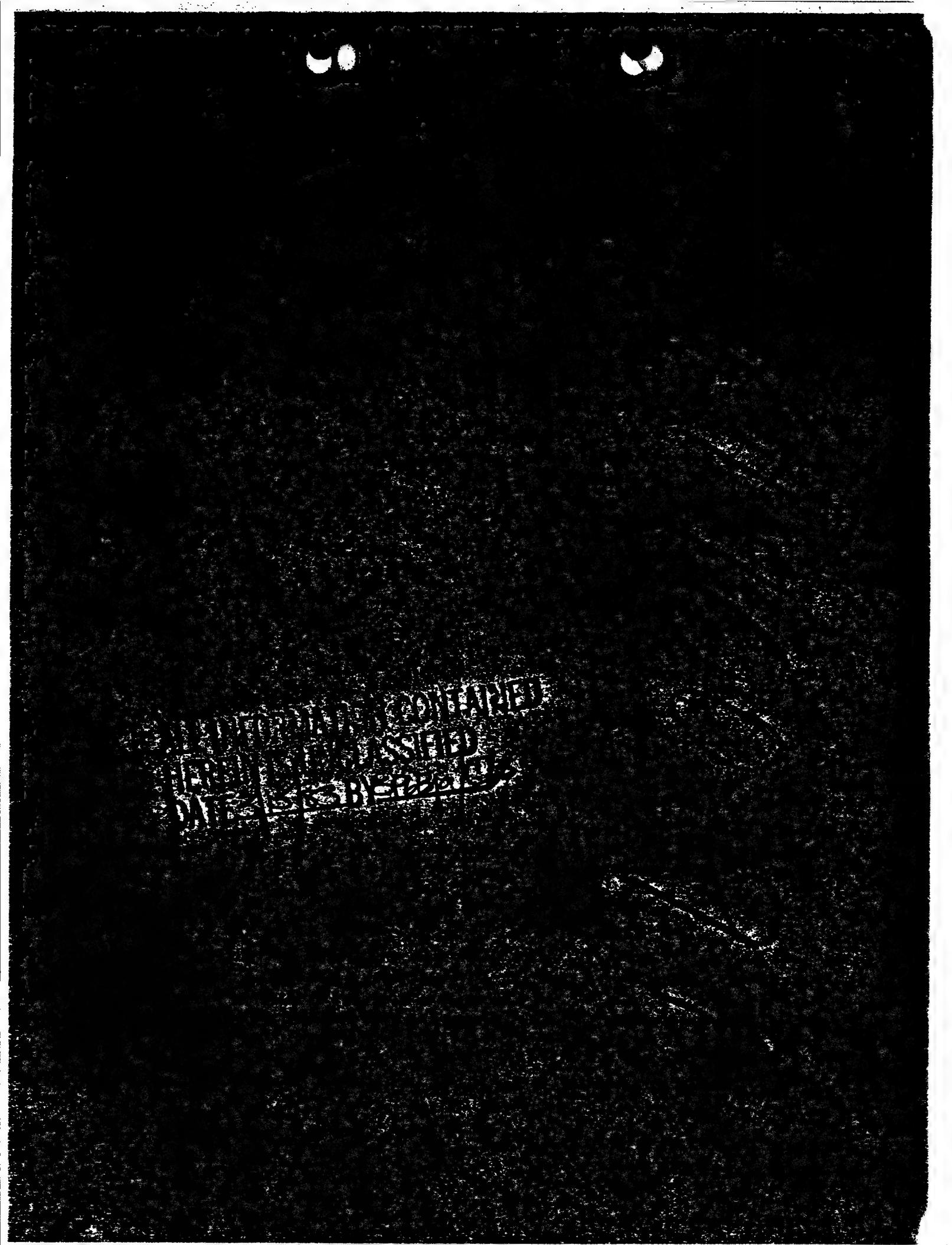
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1 EAST 54TH STREET  
NEW YORK 22, N. Y.

March 4, 1949

TO THE MEMBERS OF THE AMERICAN IPR:

In recognition of his devoted service to the Institute, the Officers and Trustees of the American IPR are giving a dinner in honor of Mr. Edward C. Carter at the Savoy Plaza Hotel in New York at 7:15 p.m. on Tuesday, March 15th. The principal speakers will be Ambassador Philip C. Jessup and Mr. W. R. Herod.

Although we realize that most members of the American IPR will be unable to attend, all of you will wish to be informed about it. All members will be welcome, although advance reservations MUST be made. The charge for the dinner is \$7.50 per person. A LIMITED NUMBER of seats are available at 50¢ each for those unable to attend the dinner who wish to hear the speeches. The speeches will begin about 8:30 p.m.

If you wish to attend, please send in your reservation IMMEDIATELY and if space is still available, tickets will be sent to you by return mail.

CLAYTON LANE  
Executive Secretary

J.M.

b7E

March 1949

HAVE YOU SEEN THESE NEW IPR BOOKS IN THE PAST MONTH?

To order, list the titles desired on order blank on back page.

**PROSPECTS FOR DEMOCRACY IN JAPAN.** By T. A. Bisson. IPR International Secretariat and the Macmillan Company, New York. 1949. 243 pp. \$2.75

Now that three years have passed since the initiation of the program of reforms in the occupation of Japan, it is possible to appraise some of the successes and failures of this remarkable effort to implant ideas of Western--mainly American--democracy in the strikingly different minds and institutions of an Asiatic nation. "In view of the basic importance of the problem / Can democracy take root and survive in Japan? / T. A. Bisson's 'Prospects for Democracy in Japan' is particularly timely."—*New York Times Book Review*.

**ALLIED OCCUPATION OF JAPAN.** By Edwin M. Martin. A concise, authoritative review of the Military occupation as a whole, covering the formulation and execution of Allied military policy, territorial changes, disarmament and demilitarization, democratization and pacification, and "house-keeping problems." American IPR and Stanford University Press, California. 1948. 160 pp. \$3.00

**ADAT LAW IN INDONESIA.** By B. ter Haar. Translated from the Dutch and edited by E. Adamson Hoebel and A. Arthur Schiller. IPR International Secretariat, sponsored by the Southeast Asia Institute and the Coolidge Foundation. 1948. 255 pp. \$4.00

**THE INDONESIAN STORY: The Birth, Growth and Structure of the Indonesian Republic.** By Charles Wolf, Jr. American IPR and John Day, N. Y. 1948. 208 pp. \$3.00

**NEW PATHS FOR JAPAN.** By Harold Wakefield. Issued under the joint auspices of the Royal Institute of International Affairs and the IPR International Secretariat. Oxford University Press, London and New York. 1948. 223 pp. \$3.75

FORTHCOMING — Advance Orders Accepted

**JAPAN—ENEMY OR ALLY?** By L. Macmahon Ball. Enlarged American edition, issued under the joint auspices of the Australian Institute of International Affairs and the IPR International Secretariat. John Day, New York. April 1949. About 250 pp. \$3.00

**JAPAN'S ECONOMY IN WAR AND RECONSTRUCTION.** By Jerome R. Dubow. IPR International Secretariat and University of Minnesota Press. 1949. 250 pp. \$3.00

**INDONESIA IN CRISIS.** By Raymond Kennedy and Paul W. Lettington. American IPR and Foreign Policy Association, New York. 1948. 160 pp. 25 cents

**THE PHILIPPINES—PROBLEMS AND PROSPECTS.** By James C. Jackson. American IPR and Foreign Policy Association, New York. 1948. 160 pp. 25 cents

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# Far Eastern Survey

AMERICAN INSTITUTE OF PACIFIC RELATIONS

## INDIA'S MERCHANT MARINE

BY H. M. TRIVEDI

THE SHIPPING AND SHIPBUILDING INDUSTRIES of India once had a proud record of achievement—as witnessed by the single fact that Nelson's flagship at the battle of Trafalgar was an Indian-built vessel. Events of the mid-nineteenth century, however, dealt blows from which these industries have never recovered; and the establishment of a merchant marine adequate to aid India's economic survival remains a thorny problem. Present obstacles arise in part from India's internal troubles and shortages, in part from the international shipping situation, and in part from the inevitably painful readjustment of old economic relationships between India and Great Britain.

The industrial revolution in Europe and the evolution of the steam-propelled steel vessel brought about a slow decline of shipping and shipbuilding in India. These developments coincided in point of time with the penetration of the Indian sub-continent by the British, initially for the purposes of trade. Britain's political conquest and consolidation of the country, complete by 1860, was spearheaded and sustained by the increasingly powerful British navy and merchant marine. The survival of Indian shipping thereafter was in direct conflict with the interests of the ruling power. Through discriminatory navigation laws and import duties on goods carried in Indian ships, and even an outright ban on Indian ships in trade with the United Kingdom, both shipping and shipbuilding in India were virtually destroyed.

But a coastline of over 4,800 miles, a large coastal seafaring population, and the continuing necessities of trade did not permit marine enterprise to vanish completely. A significant portion of trade along the coasts and as far as the Persian Gulf and the east and west coasts

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of Africa continued—and still continues—to be carried in wooden sailing vessels called "country craft."

From 1900, and more significantly after the first World War, Indians also ventured into modern shipping. This period saw the registration of more than fifty Indian shipping companies, with an estimated nominal sterling capital of over ten million. Faced with the superior competitive power of the British merchant marine, hampered by continuous freight wars with organized British shipping interests, and controlled at home by a government hostile to their interests, all but about ten of these companies collapsed. Of the survivors, only the Scindia Steam Navigation Company had the per-

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### INDIA'S MERCHANT MARINE

by H. M. Trivedi

India's attempts to build up her merchant marine are hampered by the "status quo" and conflicting interests of international shipping.

### THE SOCIAL SCIENCES IN JAPAN

by Delmer M. Brown

Japanese social scientists have as yet made no substantial contribution to democratization.

### THE SOUTH PACIFIC COMMISSION

by W. D. Forsyth

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### A COMMENT ON "THE SETTING OF FAR EASTERN POLICY"

by Melvin A. Conant, Jr.

Another view of the role of Communism in Asia.

sonnel, capital resources, and tonnage necessary to go on carrying even a portion of the coastal trade of India. After a bitter freight war again against the company by British interests in 1933, the then government of India, responding to strong popular pressure, intervened and obtained in 1934 a tripartite agreement between Scindia and two British companies.

### Agreement Limits Indian Company

The terms of this agreement ran as follows:

1. Cargo carried by the vessels of the three companies in the coastal trade of India, Burma, and Ceylon was to be regulated and apportioned among them according to specified percentages. (The Scindia Company's allotment amounted to about twenty-five percent.)

2. The Scindia Company was to be allowed to carry passengers on the Rangoon-Coromandel coast and on the Rangoon-Chittagong runs (Burma was then politically a part of India).

3. Freight rates and the scale of passenger fares were to be jointly fixed by the parties after mutual consultation, and none of the parties was to quote or charge rates lower than the ones agreed on.

4. The Scindia Company agreed not to participate in the foreign (overseas) trade where services were already maintained by the Peninsular and Oriental Steam Navigation Company or the British India Steam Navigation Company. (Except for trade to the United States, this provision effectively barred Indian shipping from all foreign trade.)

The agreement was due for revision in 1939, but in spite of the best efforts of the Indian shipping interests it continues unchanged except for such modifications as Scindia's participation in the India-United Kingdom trade and in the India-United States trade, which is not covered by the agreement.

At the beginning of World War II, therefore, India possessed only about 150,000 gross registered tons of ocean-going shipping. More than ninety-five percent of the entire foreign trade of India was carried in British ships, and the balance in ships of other foreign flags. About seventy-five percent of her coastal trade was carried in British ships. India had no share in the overseas passenger traffic and an insignificant share in the carriage of coastal passengers.

Developments during World War II revealed the grave consequences of India's dependence on foreign shipping. For some time the Japanese operated with complete immunity in the Bay of Bengal against India's virtually undefended coastline. One of the contributory causes of the Bengal famine in 1943 was the lack of ships to carry food grains from Karachi on the west coast to Calcutta on the east. The Commerce member of the Government of India stated in December 1944:

The vulnerability of India's position has been revealed by the stress of war conditions, but by no circumstances more glaringly than by the inability to find adequate shipping from her own resources to provide for the transport of the food supplies required by her. The rectification of this state of affairs should be one of the immediate postwar objectives not only for commercial reasons but also because the development of the Royal Indian Navy necessarily implies the concurrent development of the merchant marine.

This statement highlights the two basic reasons for India's insistence on building both a strong navy and an adequate merchant marine—the utilization and defense of her coastline, and the stabilization of her economy. The Commerce member added that ". . . the Government of India are pledged to a policy of assisting in the development of an Indian mercantile marine." This statement marked to some extent a turning point in the development of Indian shipping.

### The Shipping Policy Committee

In November 1945 the Government of India appointed a Shipping Policy Committee to recommend a suitable tonnage target for Indian shipping and the desirable percentage of its shares in both coastal and overseas trade. This committee, early in 1947, recommended that within the next five to seven years India should secure 100 percent of the purely coastal trade, seventy-five percent of trade with Burma, Ceylon, and geographically adjacent countries, fifty percent of India's distant trades, and thirty percent of the trade formerly carried in Axis vessels in the Orient. These cargoes, estimated at ten million tons and three million passengers per year, would require that India obtain about two million gross tons of shipping during the same period.

The committee suggested that such tonnage be acquired by the purchase of surplus wartime vessels from the United States and by new construction in the United Kingdom and India. Political uncertainties and the absence of a stable, responsible government in India from the end of 1945 until August 1947, as well as the ensuing disorders, made it impossible for India to buy a reasonable share of surplus tonnage being sold at that time by the United States. When India was finally able to negotiate for such purchases, the Ship Sales Act of 1946 expired (February 1948). India nevertheless acquired about 110,000 gross tons from this source. Other purchases and new Indian and British construction netted India another 170,000 tons. Economic conditions both in India and in the United Kingdom have since delayed construction considerably.

Gradual withdrawal of British shipping was the prime requisite for implementing the Committee's percentage recommendations. It was suggested that, as a first step, negotiations be conducted with British shipowners and the United Kingdom government toward this end. Such

occurred in mid-1947, without any result. British shipowners went so far as to question the credentials of a delegation of Indian shipowners sponsored by the Government of India. Although aware of the weakness of India's merchant marine and of their own competitive power to hamper its growth, the British shipowners stated:

We view shipping as a business in which everyone is entitled to engage and one in which the share of any country is determined solely by the service which the shipowners of that country can offer.

To accept the principle of formal division of trade between flags would stultify the entire mercantile marine policy of this country.

### Achievements and Obstacles

At a crucial period in international shipping, therefore, India was faced with great difficulties—firstly in acquiring suitable tonnage, and secondly in beginning to participate in the carriage of her own trade. By the end of 1948 India possessed about 400,000 gross tons of shipping, and Indian ships now ply regularly (once a month) between India and the United States, the United Kingdom, and the Continent. Two newly built passenger vessels also run between India and the United Kingdom. The Government of India, following the policy committee report, is now promoting three shipping corporations in cooperation with established private companies in order to extend India's participation in the carriage of her other trades. But progress toward the targets during the last two years has been disappointing.

The attempt to re-establish shipbuilding as a corollary to shipping has met with even greater difficulties. At Vizagapatam in June 1941 the Scindia Company laid the foundation of a large modern shipbuilding yard. But when the Allies urgently needed as many ships as they could get, the Government of India did not think it opportune to promote the establishment of this industry. After being moved to Bombay as a wartime repair yard, it was finally returned to Vizagapatam, and its construction work was resumed only in 1946. Despite troubous national and international economic conditions during 1948, the yard completed construction of the first two Indian-built ships of 8,000 dead-weight tons each. With the expansion now being contemplated, the yard should be able to construct about 50,000 gross tons annually. Some progress is also being made in augmenting the repair and small construction facilities in other smaller yards.

India is faced with the internal problem of developing such auxiliary industries and services as insurance, ship repair facilities, the supply of ship's-store provisions and equipment, and the construction of ship's boilers and marine engines. Skilled Indian crew-members are plentiful enough, but the shortage of trained Indian

officers and engineers is acute. Steps have been taken recently by the government to fill this gap, but bold and imaginative action will be required if all the targets are to be achieved.

By far the gravest difficulties of Indian shipping, however, are international. Shipping is almost an international industry; for that very reason all major maritime nations have developed their shipping only with the active assistance of their governments. The history of British shipping itself contradicts the principle enunciated by the British shipowners in 1947. Reservation of coastal trade, mail subsidies, construction subsidies, differential cost subsidies and import duties—all have been part and parcel of national protection for growing merchant marines since piracy was outlawed. Cooperative sharing of pooled international trade through a system of conferences was invented by the British and is a recognized practice today. The present respective national positions as regards ownership of tonnage and shares in the carriage of international trade have been established through a century of such developments. No nation can attempt a change in the status quo thus fixed without bringing about a conflict of national interests and policies; this is perhaps truer of shipping than of any other industry.

Total world ocean trade in 1938 was approximately 250 million tons. About fifty million gross registered tons of shipping were required in order to carry this trade. The United States at that time owned about nine million tons. Sixteen nations which are now beneficiaries of the Marshall Plan owned among them another 32.2 million tons; of these, nine nations (United Kingdom, Norway, Italy, France, the Netherlands, Portugal, Greece, Sweden, and Denmark) owned about thirty-one million tons. The rest of the world made up the meager balance, of which India owned about 150,000 tons. But in the same year the United States contributed 11.79 percent to world trade, and the nine nations mentioned above contributed 28.72 percent. (India contributed a little more than three percent.) Before the war, therefore, nations which contributed only 28.72 percent to world trade carried more than sixty-five percent of world trade in their own ships.

Barring the laid-up fleet in the United States, the diminished tonnage of Italy, the increased tonnage of Canada, and the currently increased share of United States tonnage in world trade, the respective national positions of the prewar period (except for the types of ships owned) will have been very nearly restored by the end of 1949. The Committee for European Economic Cooperation, in its report to the United States Administration before the enactment of the ECA Act, contemplated a progressive increase of tonnage in participating countries from 32.2 million to approximately 37.5 million gross tons between 1947 and 1952. If the total

volume of world trade remains at war level during this period, it would seem that the western European maritime nations intend to carry more than seventy-five percent of it, as against sixty-five percent before the war, although their actual combined contribution to world trade has diminished and will probably continue to do so. Even if world trade increased to about 300 million tons, these countries would be carrying their prewar share. Underdeveloped countries like China, Mexico, the Philippines, and particularly India will never be reconciled to this inequitable distribution.

### Conflict of National Policies

Before the war, the major maritime nations of western Europe derived an average of fifteen to twenty percent of their national incomes from shipping services. This is their most important argument in seeking United States aid for the rehabilitation and expansion of their shipping. An interesting example of the cleavage of national policies in this connection is provided by the results of the following ECA Act provision:

The Administrator shall, in providing for the procurement of commodities under authority of this Act, take such steps as may be necessary to assure so far as is practicable that at least fifty percent of the gross tonnage of commodities procured within the United States out of funds made available under this Act and transported abroad on ocean vessels is so transported on United States flag vessels to the extent such vessels are available at market rates.

United States coal carried in United States ships under this provision is landed at north Atlantic European ports for three to four dollars more per ton than if it were carried in European vessels. Participating countries have protested so vigorously in this matter that the ECA administration is now seeking authority from Congress to suspend the operation of this provision. The same countries have likewise protested the fact that nearly twelve percent of ECA appropriations during the first nine months was utilized for the payment of United States shipping services.

On the other hand, far from seeking revenue toward balancing international payments, India during the last three years has paid out valuable foreign exchange, at an average annual rate of nearly 350 million dollars, for the foreign shipping of her overseas trade alone. About twenty-five percent of this amount was paid in hard-earned dollars. A large amount was also paid out for coastal shipping services. India cannot afford such a continuous and heavy drain on her national resources, particularly her foreign exchange. The economic recovery of western Europe and the economic development of underdeveloped countries like India are equally important to world peace and stability. Western Europe needs shipping for recovery; India needs it for survival.

There is an even more important consideration: In-

dia cannot contemplate with equanimity a situation in which, contrary to her proclaimed neutrality and to her best interests, she may be compelled to retain existing international political relationships or to seek new alliances simply to insure the defense of her coasts and the flow of food and supplies for her economy.

The readjustment of economic relationships between European countries and their erstwhile colonies in Asia has been particularly painful in the maritime field. A peaceful readjustment in almost similar circumstances, however, has been partially achieved in the field of international trade through the negotiation of the international trade charter at Havana in 1948, and through the complementary tariff negotiations among eighteen major trading nations. There is no reason to believe that the same results cannot be achieved in the international shipping field, given the necessary spirit of co-operation and appreciation of the needs of other nations. Since the close of 1946, steps have been taken under United Nations auspices toward establishing an inter-governmental Maritime Consultative Organization. In the early stages of this organization the leading maritime nations laid great emphasis on "the removal of discriminatory practices in the field of shipping." Unless qualified, this altogether worthy aim would have the effect of freezing the status quo in shipping. At the International Conference in Geneva in February 1947, where the convention for the organization was drafted, India played a significant role in achieving recognition of the right of underdeveloped countries to take steps to promote national shipping without such steps being regarded as discriminatory. If and when the organization comes formally into existence, it is to be hoped that the leading maritime nations within its scope will recognize the urgent needs and legitimate aspirations of countries like India.

### ANNOUNCEMENT

The third Foreign Policy Association Report issued in cooperation with the American IPR will be published on March 15, 1949:

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# THE SOCIAL SCIENCES IN JAPAN

BY DELMER M. BROWN

THE NUMBER AND SCOPE OF THE LEGAL, administrative, and institutional reforms adopted by the Japanese since the end of the war are indeed impressive. It is encouraging also to note a strong reaction against the strict, feudalistic social controls of the past. But autocratic concepts had become so deeply imbedded in Japanese experience that even the most carefully planned reforms have not always resulted in a smooth working of democratic processes.

Many candidates have been elected to public office who are concerned more with their own individual power than with representing the best interests of the electorate, and there are many people who do not even expect to be represented by the officials they have chosen. Likewise, in the reaction against the old feudal restrictions, there are, under the name of democracy, many cases of irresponsible and even immoral activity. Great strides toward democratization have been made—greater than most students of Japanese history would have dared to predict—but a careful observer cannot escape the conclusion that the Japanese still have much to learn concerning the duties and rights inherent in democracy. The educational advisers of the occupation are, therefore, turning more of their attention to the research and teaching of Japan's social scientists.

## Traditional Influence of Scholars

Scholars have always been held in high esteem in Japan, particularly since the seventeenth century, when the Tokugawa military government adopted the policy of encouraging its warriors and retainers to give more time to academic pursuits. It is thus to men of learning that the more influential citizen tends to look for ideological guidance. The Japanese army was well aware of this social fact. Prior to and during the war it gave fabulous subsidies to those research institutes which promised the greatest support for the army's educational program, and it was merciless in its suppression of scholastic efforts which were considered subversive. It was only natural that under these conditions scholars either gave their time to studies dealing with the development of the "Japanese spirit" or to specialized subjects that were only remotely related to current social problems.

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Professor Brown is Assistant Professor of History at the University of California. He was in Japan from 1932 to 1938, and served as a language officer in the United States Navy from 1941 to 1946. This article is based on work done in Japan last summer as a consultant for the Army.

Since the end of the war the "spiritual" studies have, for obvious reasons, disappeared. In their place there are a number of books and articles on democratic subjects—and far too many that have a Communistic slant. But the great mass of the research relates to specialized problems that have no direct bearing upon postwar reforms. Leaders in the Japanese academic world are aware of this situation and they are hopeful that the American Social Science Mission, now in Japan, will be able to make recommendations and suggestions that will encourage the social scientists to play a more positive role in the democratization program.

## Historical Research

During the war a large part of the research work in the field of history was devoted to studies of institutions, writings, and events which supported ultra-nationalistic claims that Japan had a superior cultural heritage. Instead of such studies we now find a certain number of objective treatments of the old nationalistic myths and traditions. There have also been a few attempts to investigate some of Japan's more liberal and democratic institutions.

On the whole, however, it is clear that a major part of the historical studies now being published deal primarily with Buddhist history, local history of the ancient and medieval period, and early Meiji history. Amazingly little attention has been given to the period since 1900, and the studies which do fall within this category are very general in nature. In economic history some excellent work has been done since the pioneer efforts of Kaneyuki Miura during the 1920s, but the only noteworthy change since the occupation is the appearance of an unusually large proportion of studies which reflect a Communistic emphasis.

The Japanese historical research which has probably gained the greatest acclaim from foreign scholars has been in the field of Chinese history. After 1930 the Academy of Oriental Culture (*Toho Bunka Gakuin*) of Tokyo and the Oriental Culture Institute (*Toho Bunka Kenkyu Sho*) of Kyoto were established with funds received from China as Boxer indemnities. With excellent libraries and research staffs these institutes produced superior work, even during the war. In almost every case the research was limited to cultural subjects of the ancient and medieval periods. Since these organizations have now lost their financial support, they are to be amalgamated with university institutes that are being subsidized by the Ministry of Education. It

appears that the excellent work of two Oriental Culture research organs will be continued, but there is no evidence of any shift of emphasis to problems that are directly related to the development of democratic principles. Since the end of the war one new organization has gained some fame: the China Research Institute (*Chugoku Kenkyu Sho*). It was formed by a group of Tokyo scholars who felt that there was a need for cooperative study of modern Chinese problems and conditions. The Institute has had to rely almost entirely upon membership fees for financial support, since it has no endowment and receives no subsidies from the government. Nevertheless, the group is active and publishes a quarterly magazine, *Chinese Studies* (*Chugoku Kenkyu*). But one's enthusiasm for the Institute is damped by the criticism that its efforts are directed along the "party line."

### Legal and Political Science

Law and political science—which fall within the same school in the Japanese university organization—have long been under the influence of German juridical ideas, but following the outbreak of war in China in 1937 many Japanese scholars came to exalt the "traditional Japanese jurisprudence" and the "juridical order of Greater East Asia." The occupation has brought great changes in these disciplines, not only because the leading proponents of the German and nationalistic theories have been purged but also because many reforms have been adopted which strike at the very roots of the old legal and political order. In addition to the new constitution—which is an extremely radical departure in Japanese constitutional history—there have been drastic alterations in the election system, in labor laws, in the education system, in administrative and legislative procedures, etc. So many changes have been made that their mere description constitutes a heavy burden for the specialists in jurisprudence and political science.

That phase of law which has been receiving the most study has been constitutional law, and especially that part of constitutional law relating to the position of the Emperor. The new constitution states that sovereignty resides with the people and that the Emperor is the symbol of the state, but some of the more conservative scholars, such as Yasuzo Suzuki, take the view that the monarchy is still retained and that it even transcends the general will of the people. There are others who conclude that Japan no longer has an Emperor in the true sense of the word. But there are a few, like Professor Odaka of Tokyo University (formerly Tokyo Imperial University), who claim that "the new constitution presents the perpetual policy of Japan in a more rational and democratic form."

But there are other legal problems which appear to be

more vital to the democratization of Japan and which need far more study. Many questions have been raised by the administrative decentralization that has taken place and by the revolutionary developments in private law—such as the article in the new constitution which stipulates that "Marriage is effected only on the mutual consent of both individuals and with the knowledge that both husband and wife possess equal rights." Legal experts also might well devote more time to problems connected with the new labor standards law, the labor relations law, and the labor union law. But, in general, scholars in the field of jurisprudence seem still to be more interested in theoretical and philosophical treatments than in studies of problems arising out of the postwar reforms.

With the political reorganization that has come since the surrender of Japan, there is a great need for extensive research by political scientists. The new institutions and procedures, if they are to survive, should be thoroughly interpreted and analyzed. But even more important, there should be texts and guides for courses in citizenship and in international relations. It is rather disturbing to find that most research in political science is still limited to theoretical analyses of such subjects as the nature of power and authority and the function and status of the Emperor.

### Sociological Studies

Japanese sociological studies stem from the work of an American, Ernest Fenollosa, who taught in Tokyo Imperial University at the close of the nineteenth century. In the early stages of development the approach was, for the most part, theoretical. But after the close of the first World War, at a time of unusual peasant and labor unrest, a sociology department was established in Tokyo Imperial University and greater attention was given to investigation of current social problems. A famous research institute, the Ohara Institute of Social Problems (*Ohara Shakai Mondai Kenkyu Sho*), was established at that time by one of Japan's wealthiest textile manufacturers, and took the lead in this new type of sociological research. The objective and analytical studies made by the research staff did much to strengthen sociology in Japan. Many of the most progressive and liberal scholars, including some of the present-day labor leaders, were associated with the Ohara Institute; their work included valuable compilations of labor statistics and investigations of women's problems and labor education.

But with the upsurge of nationalism after 1930 sociological studies were placed under some suspicion, for it was thought that many of the scholars in the field were radicals. Several schools ceased to give courses in sociology, and the teachers who were permitted to continue their work gave much of their time to theoretical

treatments that were deeply influenced by current German thought. Later on theoreticians began to develop what they considered to be a purely Japanese type of sociology. But, at the same time, there was some research in current social problems, including descriptive and analytical treatments of Japanese rural society and family life.

Since the end of the war the military defeat of the Japanese and the implementation of occupation policies to democratize Japan have operated to create a great social upheaval. The old, rigid relationships and institutions have been greatly weakened by a new enthusiasm for the democratic way of life and by basic economic and political reforms.

On the other hand, because there is no general acceptance or understanding of democratic rights and duties, the reaction to the traditional restrictions has not been paralleled by an assimilation of democratic standards. Young people now frequently refuse to respect the old social taboos; they even break away from their families to gain greater freedom of action, but their activities are too often irresponsible and immoral. The current crime wave, the inability of the police to cope with black-market operations, and numerous other social problems and maladjustments attest to the need for thorough and extensive research by trained sociologists. Yet not many scholars are devoting their time to studies of these postwar problems.

### Aid to Young Scholars

One of the most promising developments in the social sciences and humanities has been the organization of the Association of Cultural Science Committees, sponsored by officials within the Ministry of Education who felt that if the democratization of Japan was to be advanced greater help would have to be given to young scholars. Consequently, a committee of young men for each of the established disciplines was appointed, and the Ministry of Education set aside a sum of money to support research projects recommended by them. For the fiscal year 1948-49 Y3,500,000 (about \$13,000) has been allotted to research supported by the Association. The money is to be divided among 164 scholars in the various fields of the social sciences and humanities. Most of the recipients are teachers in preparatory schools and normal schools, or assistants and graduate students in the universities. However, in looking over the titles of the research projects to be subsidized, we do not find a large number of studies that bear upon problems related to the advance of democratic principles. Another project of the Association of Cultural Science Committees is the publication of a bi-monthly journal, entitled *Cultural Sciences (Jimbun)*, which is designed to cut across the established disciplines. Its most valuable feature is the inclusion in each issue of a bibliography of

all new books and articles published in the various fields of the social sciences and humanities.

The future of the Association is uncertain. In accordance with recommendations made by the Science Advisory Group which visited Japan in 1947, a new non-governmental advisory council on higher education and research is to be established. The new Council, called the Japan Science Council (*Nihon Gakujutsu Kaigi*), is to come into existence early in 1949. It is to coordinate all scientific research, not just that in the social sciences; and it will undoubtedly exercise control over all governmental research subsidies. Although the members of the Council are to be elected by scholars throughout Japan, it is feared by many that it will be dominated by those working in the natural sciences and that the Association of Cultural Science Committees will lose its support from the Ministry of Education.

### Economic Difficulties

The failure of the social scientists to make any substantial contribution to the policy of democratizing Japan is due, in part at least, to economic factors. The individual scholar is forced to give less attention to study and research, because he has to spend more time earning enough money, and obtaining enough food, to support his family. Professors, even in the most prominent universities, have doubled their teaching load by accepting part-time positions in other educational institutions. Their scholarly work has been further hampered by a severe paper shortage and by restrictions against the purchase of books abroad. The strongest barriers to the democratization of Japan's social sciences, however, are the attitudes and convictions that have been molded by decades of indoctrination in Confucian moral principles and Shinto myths. The intensive prewar propaganda efforts of Japanese "ultra-nationalists" probably affected scholars less than any other element in the Japanese population, and now these scholars are openly questioning the validity of the traditional Confucian and Shinto concepts. Such a development, in the light of Japanese intellectual history, is revolutionary and encouraging, but it is a far cry from whole-hearted support of democratic ideals.

Institutional reforms aimed at removing "obstacles to the revival and strengthening of democratic tendencies" are not all that is required to assure the establishment of a democratic way of life in Japan. Among other things, the prestige and leadership of the social scientists should be gained for the democratic cause. These scholars are reacting against the "official philosophy" of the past, and it would appear that their full support eventually can be obtained if greater attention is given to improving their economic position and to increasing the opportunities of learning more about the philosophy and history of democratic nations.

# THE SOUTH PACIFIC COMMISSION

BY W. D. FORSYTH

THE SOUTH PACIFIC COMMISSION is an international effort to raise the standard of living and increase opportunities for social development among island peoples of the south and southwest Pacific. The Commission represents the six governments which have territories in the area: Australia, France, the Netherlands, New Zealand, the United Kingdom, and the United States. The vast area for which the Commission operates stretches from Netherlands New Guinea on the west to Tahiti on the east, a distance of about four thousand miles. It has nearly three million inhabitants, chiefly Melanesian and Polynesian peoples. The area is divided among a large number of local administrations, yet across its length and breadth there are many common problems. It is thus a natural field for cooperation.

## Background of Organization

There was cooperation in some matters before the establishment of the Commission. Long before the second World War, for example, an organization was formed through which all the administrations kept one another informed of outbreaks of disease in the area, thus facilitating quarantine measures. Wartime collaboration was, of course, much more thorough, notably in connection with shipping and supply. But permanent cooperation over a wide range of subjects was first proposed in the Australia-New Zealand Agreement of January 1944, wherein the two governments were to work for the establishment of an advisory commission to deal with health, education, technical training, plant diseases, agricultural methods, improvement of communications, and so forth. War and reconstruction brought about a delay, but in January 1947 the six interested governments sent representatives to Canberra and subsequently ratified an agreement to set up the Commission.

It is significant that the participating governments did not delay the enterprise until the agreement came formally into force. At the Canberra conference in 1947 Australia and New Zealand were authorized to make preliminary arrangements. An Interim Organization was established, and in May 1948 the Commission was prepared to hold its first meeting. At that meeting arrangements were made for selecting the Commission's permanent headquarters and for appointing the principal

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Mr. Forsyth is Secretary-General of the South Pacific Commission. At the time of his appointment he was Counsellor at the Australian Embassy in Washington, D. C., and Australian representative on the Trusteeship Council.

permanent officials. A program of practical work was also sketched out.

Four main bodies make up the machinery by which the governments agreed to carry out the purposes of the Commission. First is the Commission itself, meeting twice a year. (Its next meeting is scheduled for Noumea in May 1949.) Each participating government is represented by two Commissioners. The task of the Commission is to advise the governments as to practical methods of cooperation.

The second main organ is the Research Council. Its members bring to their task a wide range of experience and scientific knowledge; their investigations and recommendations will undoubtedly have a great and growing influence on the conduct of administration and on the lives of the peoples of the region. It is expected that the Research Council will hold its first meeting in Noumea in May 1949. In the meantime the permanent members are attending the Pacific Science Congress in New Zealand and immediately thereafter will visit the islands themselves. These activities will give them direct contact with scientists interested in Pacific Island problems and with field officers of the various administrations. To aid the Council's formulation of a realistic work program, the Commission has drawn up a list of practical problems which, it suggests, should receive urgent consideration. (The work program, as revised by the Commission in its second session, is reproduced below.)

## The South Pacific Conference

The third main organ of cooperation in the area will be the South Pacific Conference. The first Conference is to be held early in 1950. By that time both the Commission and the Research Council will have advanced their practical work far enough to give a good deal of substance to the Conference discussions. Delegates and advisers to the Conference will come from fifteen Pacific territories: Papua, the Trust Territories of New Guinea and Nauru, New Caledonia, the French Establishments of Oceania, Dutch New Guinea, Western Samoa, Tokelau Islands, Cook Islands (including Niue), Fiji, British Solomon Islands Protectorate, the Gilbert and Ellice Islands, American Samoa, and the Condominium of the New Hebrides. The Conference will represent not only the administrations but also the island peoples and missionary and scientific bodies.

The fourth organ is the Secretariat, which, together with the permanent members of the Research Council,

provides continuity. The Secretariat is not expected to be large.

It is hoped that the South Pacific Commission will help to demonstrate the value of regional cooperation. Although it has no organic link with the United Nations and is in no way under its direction, the Commission represents one means by which colonial powers can fulfill in practice the principles they stated in Chapter Eleven of the United Nations Charter.

**WORK PROGRAM DECIDED UPON AT FIRST SESSION, MAY 1948**

**AS AMENDED AT SECOND SESSION, OCTOBER 1948**

*(Annex C to the Proceedings of the Second Session of the South Pacific Commission)*

In drawing up the Work Program set out below, the Commission has borne in mind the following considerations:

(a) The importance of avoiding unnecessary duplication or overlapping between the activities of the Commission and those of other agencies operating in the area and of using existing institutions where appropriate and feasible.

(b) The necessity for reference to the Research Council, when appointed, of the research aspects of the problems concerned.

(c) The importance of continual consultation with territorial governments on the Work Program of the Commission, particularly with the object of determining what further services the Commission might usefully perform.

**Classification of Projects**

The Commission adopts the following categories of urgency:

A. Subjects which call for early action and which show possibility of early results;

B. Subjects which call for early action which are not expected to reach fruition for some time;

C. Subjects which can be placed for the time being in a lower category of urgency.

The following projects are considered worthy of inclusion in the categories named. They are not set out in any order of priority in each category.

**CATEGORY A**

1. Collection of information on existing air and sea transport services in the region, analysis of further needs and suggestions for the improvement of these services.

2. Efforts to improve on request, the supply of any item of essential goods in any part of the area or in the area as a whole.

3. Early and continual review of human quarantine measures throughout the area with particular attention to problems introduced by air travel and to the prompt interchange of epidemiological information.

4. Mechanization of the copra industry and the study of by-products and essential uses of copra residues.

5. Collection and dissemination of information on the control of plant and animal pests and diseases, including both preventive quarantine measures and research looking to the elimination of such pests and diseases.

6. Research into health problems, particularly infant and maternal welfare.

7. Fisheries research, including surveys and the testing of methods of catching and of processing fish and other marine products with the special aim of improving nutrition of the local inhabitants. (See notes at end of report.)

8. Cognizance of the food production potentiality survey to be conducted in New Guinea and the possible application

of similar surveys for the area where these are not already being undertaken, with the object of raising the nutrition standards and of increasing exports.

9. Pooling of information on expert assistance desired and capable of being offered by the participating Governments.

**CATEGORY B**

1. Establishment of contact with public and private agencies doing experimental work in agriculture and industry with a view to disseminating information of their findings.

2. Collection and dissemination of information on technical and professional training of islanders in various fields such as health, education and the technical skills, and to examine the possibilities of further developing centralized training institutions for islands peoples.

3. Development of a library on the South Pacific, acquisition of basic reference and other materials and the collection of official publications from the participating governments, and the collection in an annual uniform publication of all available statistics of the area, such annual publication to be published as soon as feasible.

4. Preparation of a records file of scientists and of public and private organizations interested in research in the South Pacific.

5. Investigation of the possibilities and of existing facilities afforded by wireless broadcasting and visual aids in the education of dependent peoples, especially illiterate peoples.

6. Stimulation and coordination of studies in the fields of vulcanology and seismology.

7. Improvements of tropical pasture lands by all possible means especially:

(a) Selection of types of fodder grasses;

(b) Weed control.

8. A plan for carrying out, under the auspices either of the Commission or of other agencies, the research recommended in the list of immediate projects attached to the Agreement establishing the South Pacific Commission and other research projects.

9. The Committee recommends that as soon as its organization is sufficiently established, the Commission should convene a conference of educators from both within and without the area to give urgent attention to the educational needs of the islands peoples both by pooling knowledge and experience already acquired, and by making recommendations on the educational problems of the area, including those stated in the appendix to the Agreement establishing the South Pacific Commission.

**CATEGORY C**

1. Problems associated with the nutrition of the resident populations within the territorial scope of the Commission.

2. Problems of conservation, including the setting aside of local reserves in which the unique indigenous flora and fauna characteristic of the islands may continue as far as possible to exist, and also the preservation of archaeological sites.

3. Problems arising from the impact of modern civilization on the traditional indigenous societies, with special reference to the contributions of anthropological research in this field.

4. A plan for the publication of a periodic bulletin of the Commission including both articles and news items. This should include the preparations of estimates, proposed layouts, data on printing facilities and plans for distribution. Analysis of existing radio facilities for the transmission of news with recommendations as to the means by which these might be made available for the transmission of Commission news. The provision of information services to individuals and governments on matters within the competence of the Commission.

5. Study of labor conditions within the territories, with a view to improvement in accordance with the recommendations of the International Labor Organization wherever applicable.

NOTES

1. The following observation of the Senior French Commissioner is recorded by the Commission:

"The Senior Commissioner of the French delegation observes, with regard to fisheries, that it would be advisable to make the following distinctions:

"Study of the possibility of introducing fish more widely into the diet of certain indigenous peoples.

"Study of seas and of the habitat of various species of fish, so as to improve the returns from fishing.

"Study of methods of fishing and their possible improvement with a view to increasing the returns from this industry."

Although these various points can be connected with nutrition, since it is a question of improving the nutrition of the indigenous people both in quantity and quality, it would seem more logical to connect with actual nutrition nothing but the study of the introduction of fish into the diet of these peoples.

The other considerations would be connected rather with marine biology, or the study of the development of smaller native industries, which are matters somewhat less urgent.

2. The following resolution moved by the Senior Commissioner for New Zealand was carried at the morning session of October 29, 1948, in connection with discussion on Category A, Item 7:

"That the Full Time Member of the Research Council in the field of economic welfare be invited to make early enquiries as to the development of the preservation and transport of fish from plentiful to scarce areas."

## A COMMENT ON "THE SETTING OF FAR EASTERN POLICY"

IT IS OF CRUCIAL IMPORTANCE to the United States that it recognize the basic character of events in Asia. Without such a recognition any policy it selects will fail from the start with serious consequences for the future. One interpretation of this setting for our Far Eastern policy has been offered recently by Mr. Robert J. Kerner.<sup>1</sup> In his article, he offers as a major consideration the concept that it is the existence of Communist parties loyal to the Soviet Union which has determined the recent revolutionary trend of events.<sup>2</sup>

It would be wrong for any student of international affairs to overlook the importance of local Communist parties allied with the Russians. The existence of these ties, as Mr. Kerner points out, is of extreme value to the Soviets and poses a very difficult tactical problem for the United States. While acknowledging that problem, it is this writer's contention that any interpretation of the current setting of our Far Eastern policy which considers the link between Moscow and national Com-

1 "The Setting of Far Eastern Policy," by Robert J. Kerner, *Far Eastern Survey*, February 9, 1949.

2 *Ibid.*, p. 25 and p. 26.

munist parties in the Orient our major problem ignores the basic character of Asia today, and does so at considerable danger to the United States.

Any relevant discussion of the background of Asian events and their influence on American policy should have as its point of departure a fundamental realization that the Communists in Asia are not one-tenth as much instigators of change as they are exploiters of the present desire for change. The demand for social and political reform has been increasing in intensity from the beginning of this century, not just since the 1917 revolution. In the writer's opinion, the recent explosive movements heralding such changes stem more from the negative attitude of colonial powers and conservative native ruling groups than from Communist intrigue and action. The Communists cannot, in all fairness, be given sole credit for the revolutionary movements in India, Burma, Malaya, Indochina, Indonesia, and China. (One can imagine, indeed, that the Communists would be likely to welcome charges by the Western powers that they were responsible for what has occurred.) To give proper weight to the Communists, one must regard them as groups which have hastened the moment of revolution but have rarely been its original leaders. It is of great importance that we place the Communists in proper perspective; with them or without them Asia is revolutionary. The destruction or neutralization of Communist parties with their international links would only postpone the eventual blow-up. The Communists complicate the problem of a changing Asia, but they should not obscure it.

One cannot be blamed for suspecting that our current tendencies to make Communists the principal sources of evil and chaos reflect a desire to escape from the vastness of the real problem facing us: How can we, the personification of a status quo nation, lead or even participate in the social and political changes now occurring or threatening to occur? Are we going to be left behind? Can we afford to be left behind?

It may be seriously doubted if we can participate in the revolutionary movements and formulate policies which will, in their essence and implications, be so much at variance with our current philosophy. Given our past and present record, can we be expected to sponsor regimes and reforms abroad which have revolutionary objectives? These questions pose the ultimate one for the setting of policy: What plan or program can we adopt and implement that will be adequate in Asia's revolutionary setting?

It is imperative for the future welfare of this country that we concentrate, not on the presence of Communist parties with their defeat as our principal objective, but rather on programs and policies which will make our relations with emerging Asia more sympathetic.

Harvard University

MELVIN A. CONANT, JR.

## BOOKS ON THE PACIFIC AREA

ECONOMIC SURVEY OF ASIA AND THE FAR EAST.  
By the Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East.  
Department of Economic Affairs, United Nations, Shanghai,  
1948. 234 pp. \$2.00.

The deficiencies of economic information on the Far East have long been a major handicap to business men, government policy-makers, and scholars. Since the war, the enormous dislocations in economic activities have been accompanied by such gaps, lags and confusions in the data as not only to intensify the prewar handicaps but also in fact contribute to the delay of reconstruction. All persons and agencies concerned with Far Eastern conditions will therefore be indebted to the Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East (ECAFE), its Secretariat, and its research director, Dr. H. D. Fong, for assembling the available information from a variety of sources—chiefly governments but including numerous unofficial sources—and for making the compilation available to the public. The present survey, the first of a projected annual series, concentrates on the calendar year 1947, but also sketches the trend of events since the termination of the war, and relates many of the current measures to corresponding prewar patterns.

In great part, this survey carries forward the widely-used compilation of data which the Institute of Pacific Relations published in 1934 (*Economic Handbook of the Pacific Area*) and extended in 1941-42 (*Economic Survey of the Pacific Area*, in three parts), and indeed the ECAFE survey frequently draws prewar data from these sources. The geographic coverage of the present volume is specifically Asian, excluding the numerous "non-Asiatic" countries comprehended in IPR's concept of "the Pacific area," but including India, Ceylon and Burma along with certain subdivisions of other territories. The survey has made some valuable additions to the familiar list of topics, notably by providing a section on national income estimates (wisely hedged with many qualifications), a section on labor (conditions and organization), and a section on banking (including fiscal policy and the course of inflation). Such important matters as governmental budgets, international capital movements and international commodity prices receive less adequate treatment than was possible in prewar days, but these matters will no doubt be discussed more fully in subsequent issues as the data is made available.

The survey is of course essentially a handbook of economic statistics. As such, it does not often venture into causal explanations or functional interpretations (although some illuminating if incomplete discussion will be found in certain sections, including those on inflation, balance-of-payments difficulties, and the growth of the postwar labor movement). Within its allotted scope, its coverage is generally comprehensive. A conspicuous omission, however, is the agrarian data essential to an understanding of the revolutionary movements now sweeping through Asia. It is most unfortunate that no information was provided on the present status of the plantation system, on the extent of farm tenancy and the magnitude of rent, on the rates of interest and taxes borne by the land-owners (absentee and cultivating), as well as on the prices and purchasing power of farm products. This kind of information, taken together with data on type of crop and yield per acre and overall figures on arable land per farm household, would permit insight into the real possibilities and real limi-

tations of agrarian reform through land redistribution as distinct from improvements in productivity and progress in industrialization.

The organization of material in the survey is basically by topics rather than by countries—supplemented in many cases with a country-by-country account under each separate topic. This presentation is valuable for many purposes but is incomplete. After the topical analysis has unravelled the fabric of each nation's economic life, and laid out the skeins in comparative tables, there is need of reweaving the disparate threads; and this need will persist, in the face of regional planning, so long as nations are units of organization and power, and so far as the national economies are competitive rather than complementary. No doubt a summary account for each country would enlarge the size of the volume as well as the labors of the Secretariat, but on the other hand it might reduce the duplication of material under the various topical headings.

The technical handling of the data in the present volume is in general painstaking, and reveals an admirable self-restraint in not trying to make more of certain information than its vague or dubious character would justify. Occasional technical lapses occur, to be sure, as might be expected in so vast an undertaking carried through so speedily. Most of these lapses are of no great moment, but a very few have broad consequences. A particular example is the measurement of intra-regional trade, which has important bearing on harmony of national interests and on policy toward Japan. Since the survey failed to eliminate the entrepôt role of Singapore, Hong-kong and other ports in the trade statistics, the indicated size of intra-regional economic relations, aside from trade with Japan, exaggerates the actual movement of goods produced in one Far Eastern country for consumption in another; and Japan's role in drawing those countries into a trade network is relatively understated.

Such qualifications aside, this product of the ECAFE is a most valuable handbook, certain to be widely used, and expressing in a concrete, if limited, way the disposition of member nations to cooperate through a United Nations agency.

Cornell University

EDWIN P. REUBENS

### BOOKS RECEIVED

GANDHI'S AUTOBIOGRAPHY: *The Story of My Experiments with Truth*. By M. K. Gandhi. Washington, D.C.: Public Affairs Press, 1948. 640 pp. \$5.00.  
Begun in 1922 and published originally in Gujarati, the present version was revised by Gandhi and then edited by a British scholar. With an extensive index.

THE JAPAN WHO'S WHO AND BUSINESS DIRECTORY, 1948 edition. Tokyo: The Tokyo News Service, 1948. 200 pp.

HAWAII: *Information on the Territory of Hawaii Transmitted by the United States to the Secretary-General of the United Nations Pursuant to Article 73(e) of the Charter*. Prepared by the Governor of Hawaii in cooperation with the Department of the Interior, Washington, D.C., June 1948. 78 pp. and appendices, paper.

ALASKA: *Information on the Territory of Alaska Transmitted by the United States to the Secretary-General of the United Nations Pursuant to Article 73(e) of the Charter*. Prepared by the Governor of Alaska in cooperation with the Department of the Interior, Washington, D.C., June 1948. 34 pp., paper.

## NEWS CHRONOLOGY

February 4 to 17, 1949

February 4: *Burma.* A government victory over Karen forces at suburban Insein eases the immediate threat to Rangoon.

February 5: *India.* More than 700,000 government employees leave their jobs or threaten to strike next month for higher wages or cost-of-living allowances.

February 6: *China.* Communists open Taku Bar anchorage, on the Hsiao River forty miles from Shanghai, to a United States freighter. Premier Sun Fo states that the civil war will continue until the Communists drop their demand for the punishment of "war criminals."

February 6: *India.* It is reported from Hyderabad that the private estate of the Nizam will be nationalized.

February 6: *Indochina.* It is officially confirmed in Paris that French and American banks have begun talks to work out a joint plan for capital investments in French overseas territories.

February 6: *Pakistan.* The Embassy of Pakistan in Washington announces plans for the nationalization of four major areas of industry: hydroelectric power, manufacture of locomotives and rolling stock, arms and ammunition, and telecommunications.

February 7: *China.* ECA orders the closing of its offices in Tientsin and Peiping. Premier Sun Fo formally establishes the temporary capital of the Nationalist government at Canton.

February 9: *China.* Acting President Li Tsung-jen orders the postponement of a Shanghai peace mission to Communist-held Peiping.

February 9: *Siam.* A British communique reports that Siamese and British forces have launched twin attacks against Communists along the border between Siam and Malaya.

February 10: *China.* Peiping newspapers demand the expulsion of "reactionary American reporters" in a campaign against foreign correspondents.

February 10: *Indonesia.* The Republic charges that the Netherlands is continuing military action despite the Security Council's cease-fire order. The Indonesian delegation to the United Nations states that the Dutch have also failed to observe the Council's resolution of January 28 calling for the release of the captured Indonesian political leaders.

February 10: *Korea.* The Democratic People's Republic of Korea (North Korea) applies for membership in the United Nations.

February 11: *China.* Communist leaders promise to call a peace conference within a month with the aim of concluding the civil war.

February 11: *India.* Prime Minister Nehru tells the Legislative Assembly that India is discussing a treaty of friendship, commerce, and navigation with the US.

February 12: *Japan.* Premier Yoshida pledges a determined fight against Japan's Communists. The US Department of the Army denies reports that it is planning to withdraw US occupation troops from Japan.

February 12: *Korea.* South Korean police are reported to have thwarted a plot to dynamite Seoul Stadium during a welcoming rally for the UN Commission on Korea.

February 13: *China.* The official Central News Agency reports that Sino-Soviet negotiations are under way in Urumchi,

capital of Sinkiang province, to give economic and mining concessions in Sinkiang to Russia.

February 14: *China.* Communist spokesmen repeat their charges regarding the "deceitful peace intrigues" of the Nationalist government and its alleged American collaborators.

February 15: *China.* Fifty-one Republican congressmen in Washington ask President Truman to appoint a top-level military, economic, and political commission to re-examine American policy toward China in the light of recent Communist victories. Acting President Li Tsung-jen broadcasts an appeal for unity and discipline in the Chinese Nationalist camp.

February 15: *Japan.* Army Secretary Royall, returning from a three-week tour of the Far East, states his belief that it would be "impractical" now to strengthen US forces in Japan.

February 15: *Korea.* The UN Security Council rejects two Soviet attempts to block consideration of the membership application of the Republic of Korea (South Korea).

February 16: *Indonesia.* The Dutch government announces its readiness "in principle" to comply with UN Security Council orders to grant self-rule in Indonesia.

February 16: *Japan.* Premier Yoshida announces the formation of his third Cabinet. Efforts to establish a tight coalition of the two dominant parties have been fruitless.

February 16: *Korea.* The UN Security Council refuses to consider the membership application of the North Korea government.

February 17: *Pakistan.* President Truman nominates H. Merle Cochran, now in Batavia on the UN Commission for Indonesia, to be Ambassador to Pakistan.

February 17: *Siam.* The government declares a state of national emergency in an attempt to prevent the influx of Communism from neighboring countries.

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The FAR EASTERN SURVEY assumes no responsibility for the accuracy of items in the "News Chronology." The chronology is based on reports in the *New York Herald Tribune* and the *New York Times*. It is prepared by Arthur N. Feraru.

### BOUND COPIES

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### FAR EASTERN SURVEY

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PUBLISHED FORTNIGHTLY BY THE AMERICAN INSTITUTE OF PACIFIC RELATIONS, INC., 1 EAST 54TH ST., NEW YORK 22, N. Y. RAY LYMAN WILBUR, *Chairman*; CLAYTON LANE, *Executive Secretary*; DONALD B. STRAUS, *Treasurer*; KATRINE R. C. GREENE, *Assistant Secretary*; TILLIE O. SHAHN, *Assistant Treasurer*. ANNUAL SUBSCRIPTION, \$6.00; SINGLE COPIES, 25c.

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b7C

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED <sup>9-1949</sup>  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED <sup>Open</sup>  
DATE 3/15/83 BY SPB/Back <sup>Mr. Tracy</sup>

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DIRECTOR URGENT

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Mr. Tolson .....  
Mr. Clegg .....  
Mr. Glavin .....  
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Mr. Nichols .....  
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Mr. Mohr .....  
Mr. Pennington .....  
Mr. Quinn Tamm .....  
Mr. Nease .....  
Miss Gandy .....

CH-1

① INSTITUTE OF PACIFIC RELATIONS, IS-C. A NOTICE RECEIVED TODAY STATES  
THAT THE IPR WILL GIVE A DINNER ON MARCH FIFTEENTH NEXT AT SAVOY PLAZA  
HOTEL, NY, IN HONOR OF EDWARD C. CARTER FOR HIS DEVOTED SERVICE TO THE  
IPR. PRINCIPAL SPEAKERS WILL BE AMBASSADOR PHILIP C. JESSUP AND W.  
R. XEROD. LOUIS XUDENZ HAS SAID THAT CARTER WAS UNDER COMMUNIST PARTY  
DISCIPLINE WHILE WITH RUSSIAN WAR RELIEF AND IPR. FOR INFO.

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State Dept  
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Date: March 11, 1969

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To:

Associate Chief  
Division of Security  
Department of State  
515 22nd Street, N. W.  
Washington, D. C.

RECORDED - 19

From:

John Edgar Hoover - Director, Federal Bureau of Investigation

Subject: INSTITUTE OF PACIFIC RELATIONS  
INTERNAL SECURITY - S

Information has been received that the above organization will give a dinner on March 15, 1969, at the Savoy Plaza Hotel in New York City in honor of Edward G. Carter for his devoted service to the captioned organization. It was further learned that the principal speakers at this dinner will be Ambassador Philip G. Jessup and Mr. V. L. Kared.

In view of the contemplated appearance of Ambassador Jessup at this dinner, you may be interested in information concerning the Institute of Pacific Relations. In this connection I desire to call your attention to an undated thirteen-page memorandum concerning a meeting of the above organization held on November 14, 1941, at 2111 Florida Avenue, N. W., Washington, D. C., a copy of which memorandum was delivered to [redacted] of your Department on November 19, 1941. Your attention is also called to the report of Special Agent [redacted] dated June 3, 1944, at New York City captioned "Institute of Pacific Relations, Internal Security - S", a copy of which report was transmitted to your Department on July 27, 1944.

In addition to the above memorandum and report, I am enclosing herewith for your information one copy of the report of Special Agent [redacted] dated November 4, 1944, at New York City, and one copy of the report of Special Agent [redacted] dated January 2, 1947, at New York City. Both of these reports are entitled "Institute of Pacific Relations, Internal Security - S".

A confidential source who was active in the Communist Party, has stated COMMUNICATIONS SECTION that he had dealings with Edward G. Carter, and that these dealings were on a plane based on the fact that he was a member

SPECIAL MESSENGER

★ MAR 14 1969 ★

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

100-64700-88 reporting letter from SAC New York

6-9-48 captioned "LGE".

Copies of the attached reports have not previously been furnished to State Department but have been furnished to the Division of Records, Department of Justice.

b7C

63 MAR 28 19

of the Communist Party. This informant has also stated that the captioned organization was largely non-Communist but was Communist infiltrated, and that the Communist Party had a great influence in the Institute and at times controlled its policy. (SOURCE - LOUIS BUDENZ)

The data contained in this memorandum and the attached reports is for your confidential information and should not be disseminated outside of your Department.

*Hickey*  
Enclosures

b7C

[REDACTED]

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

Recd

Gentlemen:

~~DATE 3/15/83 BY [REDACTED]~~

b7C

I am writing to your organization for help. As librarian I was asked to get together some material on the subject of China for one of our church groups here in [REDACTED]. One of the women's husbands tore off the cover of one of the pamphlets which had been loaned to her and has sent it somewhere for investigation. He claims that one of the editors is a communist. If this is so, I am surprised for we surely are not passing out their literature. However some of it is subtle and we might be fooled. The organization in question is the following:

(1) Institute of Pacific Relations,  
1E. 54 st.,  
New York 22,  
N.Y.

RECORDED - 127 EX-95 100-64700-100  
F B I 12 MAR 18 1949 MAJ/mch

b7C

This is about the worst thing that has happened so far. We do not think it funny or a joke; the feeling is especially bitter here in [REDACTED] over the Wallace issue. I have tried to be the best librarian that I know how to be; I have tried to keep our library free of any criticism, certainly free of serious things like this.

If this organization is all right please let us  
[REDACTED]

OFFICE OF THE LIBRARIAN

b7C



know. Also, if there is any list any place that we can go by, please send it to us immediately. As librarian this question is very important and it is getting increasingly more confusing. I do not want to be circulating their literature; I do want to guard our Constitutional rights in the matters of freedom of the press to the best of my ability.

Please let me hear from you at your earliest convenience.

Very truly yours,

b7C



P.S. This is most urgent.

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INDEXED - 11  
100-64700-100

March 20, 1949

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EX-95

[REDACTED]  
Librarian

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 3/5/83 BY [REDACTED]

Dear [REDACTED]

I have received your letter dated March 4, 1949, and although I would like to be of service you are advised that Departmental regulations require that information in our files be maintained as confidential and available for official use only. No inference should be drawn, however, that we do, or do not, have information concerning the organization mentioned by you, because of my inability to be of assistance.

In response to your request I am enclosing a copy of a list of organizations previously designated as coming within Executive Order 9835, according to classification of Section 3, Part III, of the Executive Order. This list was compiled by the Attorney General of the United States and released by the United States Civil Service Commission, Washington, D. C., under date of September 21, 1948. It is indeed a pleasure to enclose some additional material which I thought might be of interest to you.

Sincerely yours,

MR. DIRECTOR  
John Edgar Hoover  
Director  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Enclosure

List of Subversive Orgs.

- Don't Be Duped

CON. AM. ACT. COM. BLDG. 10

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U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

61 MAR 31 1949

SAC, New York

March 21, 1949

Director, FBI

INSTITUTE OF PACIFIC RELATIONS  
INTERNAL SECURITY - C  
Your file 100-17808

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## Office Memorandum

• UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Director, FBI  
 FROM : SAC, New York  
 SUBJECT: INSTITUTE OF PACIFIC RELATIONS  
 INTERNAL SECURITY - C

DATE: April 4, 1949

Submitted herewith is a copy of the "Far Eastern Survey" for March 23, 1949 published by subject organization. Also enclosed is a leaflet advertising a book, "Prospects for Democracy in Japan" by T. A. BISSON. BISSON is known for his Communist affiliations.

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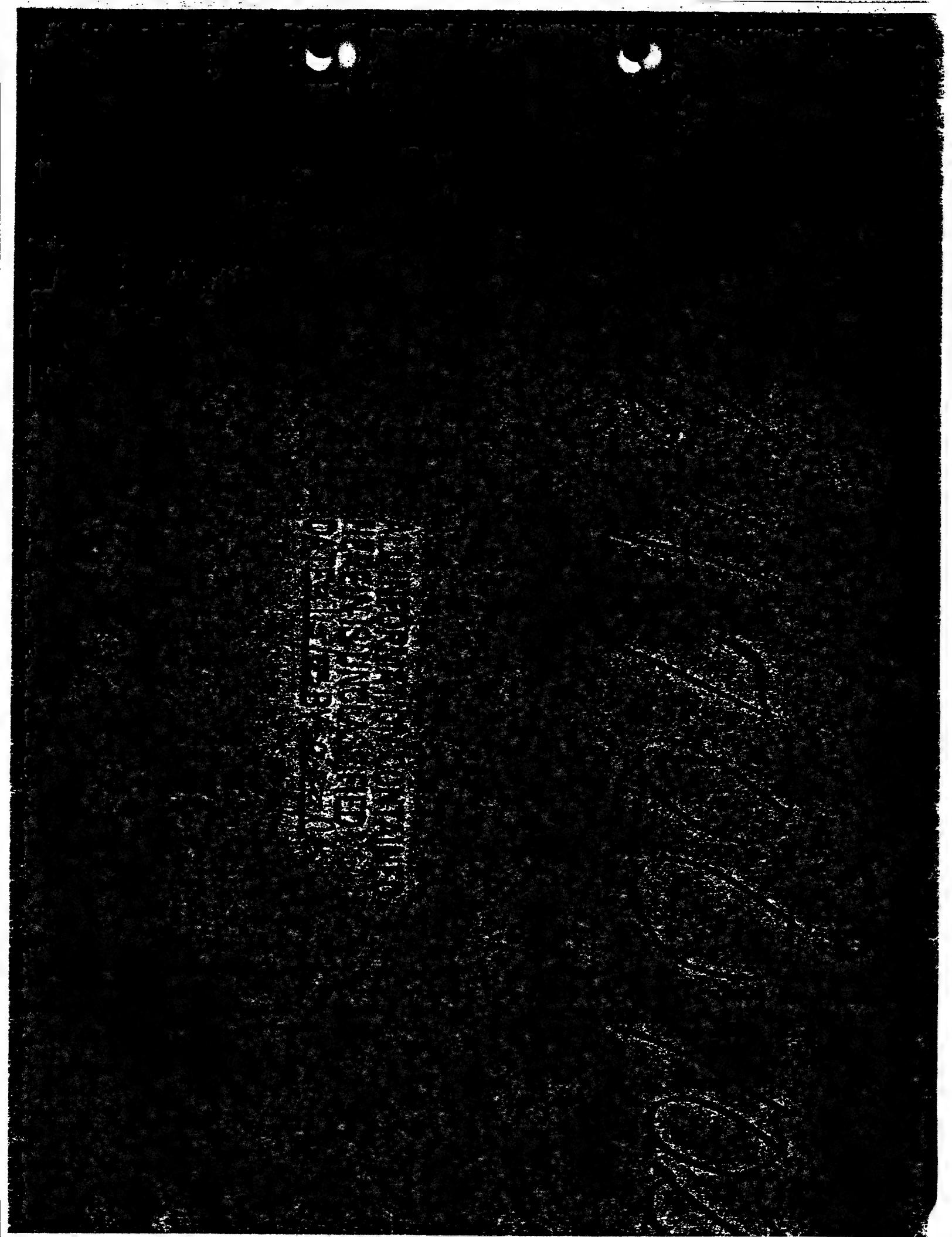
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# Far Eastern Survey

AMERICAN INSTITUTE OF PACIFIC RELATIONS

## ASIA AND TRUMAN'S FOURTH POINT

BY EDWIN P. REUBENS

**EDITORIAL NOTE:** The following article discusses some of the Far Eastern implications of President Truman's reference to underdeveloped areas in his inaugural address. The author, Assistant Professor in the Department of Economics at Cornell, is specializing in the economics of underdeveloped countries. He concludes that the immediate effectiveness of American economic aid is necessarily more limited in Asia than in Europe, but suggests a long-term approach whose scope might far outstrip the Marshall Plan. This article is presented in the hope that it will stimulate further discussion of the complex but crucially important subject of economic reconstruction and development in the Far Eastern region.

THE "BOLD NEW PROGRAM" for relatively undeveloped areas, first announced by President Truman in "Point Four" of his inaugural address, raises challenging possibilities in the Far East. The President's proposal, which stressed technological assistance for development rather than the Marshall Plan type of operation, is aimed at improving mass welfare through increases in productivity. Although it is addressed to a world-wide problem, there is little question that the Asiatic countries will be major claimants.

The new program comes with particularly significant timing in the present Far Eastern crisis. The rapid collapse of Nationalist China has crumbled the center of long-standing United States policy in the Far East. The prospective advance of Chinese Communism to the borders of the rest of Asia, leading to a juncture with active Communist elements within the neighboring countries, renders the whole Far East a critical area for the United States. The susceptibilities of Asiatic peoples to the Communist appeal, and the measures

which the United States can take to counterbalance that appeal, become urgent questions.

Outside the Communist sphere, there is in Asia a growing sense of common interests and collective power—as was demonstrated at the recent New Delhi conference called by Prime Minister Nehru of India on the specific issue of Indonesia. Demands upon the United States during recent months have been voiced in many forms: the call for a Marshall Plan for Asia as a counterpart of the Marshall Plan for Europe; the complaint that ECA aid to Europe is being used to bolster up the hated colonial system; and resentment of American policy toward Japan.

President Truman's fourth point assumes that raising the level of economic welfare in underdeveloped regions will promote the broad objectives of United States policy, and it proposes one out of several possible ap-

MARCH 23, 1949 VOL. XVIII No. 6

### CORNELL UNIVERSITY ISSUE

This issue contains articles by members of the staff of Cornell University. The Department of Far Eastern Studies at Cornell has a broad program of teaching and research on China, Japan, and Southeast Asia. The staff consists of closely cooperating specialists in history, economics, political science, anthropology, linguistics, literature, and bibliography. The library facilities include the Wason Collection, an unusually complete library of European language books on the Far East and some forty thousand volumes in Chinese.

### ASIA AND TRUMAN'S FOURTH POINT

by Edwin P. Reubens

### CHINA'S POSTWAR LIBRARIES

by Gussie Esther Gaskill

proaches. What can it hope to accomplish in the Far Eastern economies and how can its contribution be maximized? The present article explores these questions in terms of the substantial aid we have already provided, the impracticality of a Marshall Plan for Asia, the basic economic problems of development, and the possibilities of the President's proposal.

## American Aid Since the War

Underlying current proposals is the fact that since V-J Day this country has supplied or planned large amounts of aid for Far Eastern countries. This includes relief grants, the United States share in UNRRA (seventy-two percent) and in other international agencies, credit extensions, and other economic aid, along with war material and other military aid. It is not altogether meaningful to cite a total value because of the differences between allocations, procurement, and actual deliveries, the difficulties of estimating indirect forms of assistance, the mingling of gifts and loans, the valuation of aid in kind at original procurement cost rather than current value in use, and the like. Simply for the sake of a benchmark it may be said that in direct government aid alone the total was well over one billion dollars during 1948, and has exceeded four billion dollars in a cumulative total since V-J Day.<sup>1</sup>

China has been the foremost single recipient. The estimated amount, from V-J Day up to and including the current aid program, ranges from one to three billion dollars.<sup>2</sup> Approximately two-thirds of the total has been military or "semi-military" in character. The rest has been made up chiefly of direct consumption

goods for relief and of materials and operating supplies for the revival of industry, transportation, and agriculture. Equipment for the reconstruction of productive facilities has formed a small portion.

Our aid to defeated Japan has been very substantial, comprising the services of the occupation as well as provision of goods on credit (these are charged to the Japanese but may never be repaid). From V-J Day to the end of June 1948, Japan's deficit in government-to-government trade with the United States came to a cumulative total of \$910 million; in the year 1948 alone, the economic support of Japan cost the United States an estimated \$450 million, while for 1949-50 a budget allotment of \$500 million has been requested by the Army. American aid has consisted primarily of food-stuffs, raw materials and operating supplies.<sup>3</sup> Besides the direct economic aid, there is the outlay for the occupation, which may be regarded by the Japanese as a burden but in effect is supplying Japan with military defense and a governmental directorate, at an additional cost to the United States estimated at about \$370 million in 1947 for the occupation troops alone.<sup>4</sup>

Our aid to Korea is far smaller in total amount than our contribution to Japan, but is roughly in proportion with regard to Korea's smaller population, her greater reliance on subsistence agriculture, and the continuing growth of her private trade with Asia. The UNRRA allocation to Korea amounted to \$992,000. During 1947, United States credits were advanced to cover \$85.8 million of Korean imports in excess of exports in government-to-government trade with the United States and with Japan, plus deliveries against an FLC credit of United States surplus military supplies worth \$18.9 million in original cost, plus a relatively small import surplus in Korean private trade with this country.<sup>5</sup> For the fiscal year 1948-49, the sum of \$138 million was earmarked in the United States budget for assistance to Korea,<sup>6</sup> and virtually all of this amount was expended. Our shipments to that country have been chiefly foodstuffs and operating supplies. As in Japan, we have provided a garrison force and an economic directorate, at a cost even greater than the direct economic aid. Beginning in the next fiscal year, assistance to Korea will be in the jurisdiction of ECA; an agreement has been signed to spend \$300 million over a three-year period for relief, rehabilitation, and development.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Estimates based on tabulations of grants and credits by governments and international agencies (as given in UN Department of Economic Affairs, *Major Economic Changes in 1948*, January 1949, pp. 23 and 68-69) plus items specified in country-by-country discussion below. The amount of net private investment and private philanthropy in the Far East has been relatively small. The direct drain on American production is roughly measured by the \$560 million excess of our exports over our imports in trade with the Far East in 1948 (estimated from January-November figures given in *Foreign Commerce Weekly*, February 7, 1949, pp. 7-9, covering exports and imports for the United States customs area except supplies for our armed forces abroad).

<sup>2</sup> An estimate of \$2,884 million is based on the Department of State report, "Text of a Proposed China Aid Bill and Background Information," February 20, 1948, supplemented by later figures as compiled by Felix Belair, Jr., in the *New York Times*, December 19, 1948 and January 1, 1949.

On the basis of different definitions and valuations, the Chinese Embassy in Washington has estimated the total amount since V-J Day at \$1,500 million, while the American China Policy Association argues that the figure is a mere \$1,000 million. Portions of the aid programs, particularly the current one at \$400 million, have been delayed or suspended for reasons ranging from disagreements over specifications to unfavorable conditions within China.

<sup>3</sup> SCAP, *Summation of Non-Military Activities in Japan*, August 1948, pp. 192 and 299; and the *New York Times*, December 18, 1948 and January 5, 1949.

<sup>4</sup> *World Report*, December 2, 1947.

<sup>5</sup> Data derived from United States Army Forces in Korea, *South Korean Interim Government Activities*, January 1948, pp. 91-101, and June 1948, pp. 78-88.

<sup>6</sup> *New York Times*, January 5, 1949.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, January 4, 1949.

As for the Philippines, in addition to UNRRA's allocation of \$10,350,000, an amount variously estimated between \$700 million and one billion has been provided from American sources since the end of the war.<sup>8</sup> Large direct government payments have been made, including Army and Navy expenditures in the islands, War Damage Commission payments, tax refunds, pensions, and other sums, amounting to nearly \$300 million in 1947. Loans and transfers of surplus property bring that year's total close to \$400 million, an amount which permitted commercial imports of twice the value of exports.<sup>9</sup> In fact the Philippines enjoyed in 1947 that rarest of postwar delights, a dollar surplus; this, however, must shrink as American military expenditures taper off.

Efforts have been made to extend United States assistance to other areas of the Far East. In 1945 the Netherlands Indies received a loan authorization for \$100 million at the Export-Import Bank, but this was never used and expired in June 1948. On the other hand, a surplus property credit of \$100 million was used in large part. ERP funds amounting to \$68 million were earmarked for that area, but an uncommitted remainder of \$14 million was suspended when the Dutch initiated their "police action" of December 1948. Other postwar grants and credits have been accorded by the United States government to the following countries: Burma, five million dollars; India, fifteen million; Pakistan, ten million; Siam, ten million.<sup>10</sup>

For areas which are colonies of European powers or have recently emerged from such status, United States assistance takes the form of enabling the metropolitan power to extend aid in its own currency (e.g., the British loan to Burma of 32.9 million pounds), or to convert blocked accounts in sterling or other currencies into needed dollars (as in the recent British-Indian agreement for the conversion of \$60 million worth of Indian balances). India has also been assisted by the International Monetary Fund, which sold \$68.3 million in United States currency to that country during 1948. Along still other lines, some six million dollars' worth of ECA funds have been allocated for surveys and planning of development in the various backward areas of the world.

### Varied Forms of Aid

Relief has taken first place among the varied forms of American assistance to Asia. Rehabilitation has been

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, January 26, 1949, and *Report of the Joint Philippines-American Finance Commission*, Eightieth Congress, First Session, H.D. 390.

<sup>9</sup> Data derived from "Philippines' Balance of Payments, 1947," in ECAFE, *Economic Survey of Asia and the Far East, 1947*, p. 229. Values converted at two pesos to the dollar.

<sup>10</sup> *Major Economic Changes in 1948*, loc. cit.

secondary, and development has necessarily been deferred. Relatively little has been provided for the nations of Southeast Asia—India, Pakistan, or Ceylon. In general the treatment has been piecemeal, lacking integration among countries and even within a single country in some cases. Finally, while the amount of aid has been substantial, it has proved inadequate to achieve economic recovery or to allay the revolutionary ferment.

So great at present is the prestige of the Marshall Plan for Europe that in many quarters it has seemed reasonable and even imperative to extend the same basic idea to the crisis in Asia. This view has been expressed on both sides of the Pacific, perhaps nowhere more explicitly than by Dr. Shih Chao-han of China, chairman of the Industrial Working Party of the United Nations Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East (ECAFE), in a press conference last September. It is a challenging idea. Unfortunately it rests on analogy which, however valid in some respects, is limited and deceptive.

The Marshall Plan for Europe is in substance a project of accelerated rehabilitation, aimed at the "restitution of self-supporting economies." The basis of effort is the survival, despite wartime destruction, postwar dislocations, of a great part of the productive ability and interdependent relationships which past provided the people of Europe with employment, goods and services, and some degree of satisfaction in their way of life.

The United States is providing vital assistance at critical points: total ECA aid to Europe in the current year amounts to five billion dollars, but this is only about five percent of the national income of the recipient countries. During the first year or two ECA funds are being spent largely for subsistence goods, raw materials, and operating supplies; later on, the proportion of foodstuffs will fall while the share of capital equipment will rise. The economic program is to be backed up by military arrangements, particularly the current negotiations for a North Atlantic Pact. It was anticipated that large and concentrated efforts could complete the rehabilitation job by 1952; it is now hoped that by that date these countries will have achieved at least the means of resolving their difficulties.

The situation in the Far East is not only different but in some ways the exact opposite. Economic distress and turmoil in Asia are not merely postwar phenomena, however much they are aggravated by the war and postwar conditions. In the last analysis, the economic problem of Asia is low per capita productivity, generally due to overcrowding on the currently developed resources in a predominantly agrarian economy, complicated by colonial or semi-colonial status; and this overpopulation must continue so long as birth rates exceed (or

(equal) death rates and so long as larger investment in extractive, industrial, and service sectors is incapable of siphoning off great numbers of the agrarian population.<sup>11</sup> It is evident that a program consisting primarily of reconstruction would, even if it were feasible, merely reconstitute the old order, leaving the level of living about where it was in the past.

Moreover, those aspects of an aid program which are assumed or minimized in the Marshall Plan for Europe raise problems of crucial importance in the Orient. While in Europe peace and order are maintained (albeit uneasily and with interruptions), military and civil strife is rampant in Asia. Compared with Europe, governmental and private administration is feeble and frequently corrupt. While there are insistent demands for internal reforms in both regions, the anti-colonialism of Asia and the virulent forms of anti-foreignism are not issues in western Europe. Whereas reconstruction in Europe would provide an economic basis for social reform, mere reconstruction in Asia might leave intact the controls by foreigners, the drain of profits remitted abroad, the specialization in raw material extraction and the dependence upon export markets, the plantation system, the load of heavy debt and high interest rates, the oppressive burden of rent on the tenant farmer and of taxes on the small owner-cultivator, the high price of land, the low proportion of crop-value left to the cultivator, and all the other long-festering sores of oriental economies.

A Marshall Plan would thus be both too big and too small for Asia: too big because it would undertake to do a tremendous job in a few years of concentrated effort which Asia could not digest; too small because, in devoting primary emphasis to reconstruction, it would not undertake enough. Since prewar conditions failed to produce contentment, simple reconstitution of those conditions, even if it were successful, could not be expected to remove the prevailing spirit of revolution—although one should add that reconstruction would make an immediate contribution to welfare in the Far East, and is indeed a prerequisite to any more ambitious program.

### A Program for Development

What is needed in the Far East is a program of development. This means a long-range undertaking of investment on a continental scale, at a rate fast enough to outrun the increase of population. It means building

<sup>11</sup> Even in "industrialized" Japan, agriculture has continued to occupy nearly fifty percent of the population, and the national income per capita in prewar years was barely one-third of the corresponding figure for Great Britain and one-fourth of the figure for the United States. Elsewhere in Asia, national income was at levels ranging from two-thirds down to one-third that of Japan. (Colin Clark, *The Conditions of Economic Progress*, pp. 41-42.)

an integrated complex of industry, agriculture, and commerce in the most backward agrarian economies which in some regions are decentralized for local subsistence and in other regions are precariously dependent upon a raw material specialty for export.

An important distinction must be drawn here between those areas of heavy population pressure on the aggregate of arable land and other extractive resources, as exemplified in Japan, China and India, and those areas of lighter population pressure, as in some parts of Southeast Asia, where yields per acre are low but possibilities exist for more intensive cultivation and for extension of the cultivated and mined regions. In the former case, industrialization is the chief hope of raising productivity, although much can also be done to raise agricultural yields (except perhaps in Japan). While industrialization would also be highly desirable in the second type of situation, there is a present need for investment in irrigation, fertilizer, improved types of crop and cultivation, transportation, disease control, and ground clearance, as well as for better terms of trade for primary products in dealings with foreign merchants and better division of the proceeds between foreign capital and native labor. In the long run, the problem of population pressure reasserts itself in both types of cases, suggesting that industrialization and urbanization are the main hopes both of limiting birth-rates and of raising the output of the existing population.

Development means more than the material apparatus of high productivity. It means also skills of labor and management, the habit of continuous application and planning for the future, the elimination of customs and taboos which hinder the rationalization of production and distribution. Under a system of free enterprise—which is generally advocated in United States policy toward underdeveloped areas—development also means a money economy, contract and corporation law, a class of industrial investors, and all the other institutions and practices of a commercial-industrial society. To create all of these in the largely alien, not to say hostile, Oriental environment is of course the great challenge of industrialization, a challenge which the Japanese took up eighty years ago and which has been faced by other Asiatic nations in a modest degree.

What are the actual possibilities in Asia for this kind of rapid development? It is difficult to find optimistic answers—even if we make the heroic assumptions of military peace, civil order, political stability, successful repair of wartime devastation, and general willingness to industrialize.

Industrialization and development in Asia must be a slow process at best, even if the favorable conditions enjoyed by Japan could be duplicated. The Japanese were able to take advantage of the large and profitable market for silk exports, the fortunately-timed stimulus

of the first World War, the plenty world supply of investment capital, the opportunity successful competition in shipping (including transhipment for Asia) and other sources of invisible foreign income, the availability of nearby markets which Western competitors were not always equipped to reach, as well as the small size of the country, the temperate climate, the supply of water power, the easy access to the sea, and the linguistic, ethnic and cultural homogeneity of the population. Many of these factors are lacking in the world today, while some have never been true of many countries now aspiring to development. Few compensating factors appear, except for a somewhat greater availability of resources in certain Asiatic countries.

### Obstacles in Asia's Path

Assuming that the environment in the rest of Asia were as favorable as that enjoyed by Japan, and that progress were made at about the same rate, some twenty to thirty-five years of developmental effort (after completion of "reconstruction") would be required in most of Asia merely to attain the level of Japan in 1935.<sup>12</sup> The possibilities of telescoping this effort are not entirely promising. While it is true that the late-comers (notably Japan and the Soviet Union) have run through the industrialization process faster than the pioneers—as late-comers can utilize the latest forms of technology and organization, and may be assisted by the advanced countries with capital, capital goods and personnel—there are many obstacles in the path of Asiatic development.

On the technical side, first of all, there is the problem of necessary sequences. A commercial-industrial system cannot be imported from abroad all in one package, nor can it be built up at home all at one stroke. Imported capital goods require domestic installations, especially construction work (ground clearance, sanitation work, railway beds, buildings, and so on) which must be done locally. The efficient functioning of productive facilities and urban centers requires a regular and sustained volume of inflow and outflow of goods and people; for this, the appropriate training and institutions must be provided. In this sense, the pace of industrialization is not limited so directly by "shortage of capital" (whether the poverty or tradi-

12 On the basis of the proportion of the labor force in agriculture, the real national product per capita, the then-current tempo of progress, and adjustments for basic changes in the world economy since the turn of this century, it may be estimated that economic development in Asia (except for Japan) was in 1935 at about the level where Japan stood in 1900-1910. The qualification must be added that certain countries, notably the Philippines and India, stood well ahead of the rest, and that India made substantial advances during wartime, in some ways paralleling Japan's expansion during World War I.

tionalism of native capitalists or the reluctance of foreign investors), as by necessities of sequence and the actual risk of inflation due to over-investment. The limited "capacity to give" of the advanced nations is matched by a limited "capacity to receive" on the part of the underdeveloped regions.

Besides these technical limitations, a telescoped economic development without political revolution faces obstacles in the social organization, class structure and traditional culture of present-day Asia. Rapid development would entail a number of controversial domestic economic controls. Measures to ensure domestic capital formation are virtually indispensable in view of the limitations on available foreign investment. The Japanese type of industrialization relied heavily upon a remarkably high rate of real savings out of a relatively low income. During the middle and most rapid period of Japan's development, no less than twenty to twenty-five percent of the total national product was directed into capital formation, principally in the forms of domestic provision of productive facilities and exports to pay for capital goods imports. In consequence, there was but a slow rise in Japanese levels of living, the average lagging well behind the rise in productivity and in total product. While the concentrated group of owners and managers, the *zaibatsu* and their agents the *banto*, were able to live in luxury, their large profits were mostly plowed back into expansion of enterprise.

When voluntary savings are inadequate, as they must be in the face of heavy consumption pressure, it is necessary to rely on "forced saving" through the wage-price relationship and a discriminatory structure of taxation, plus in some cases a system of direct governmental allocation of resources and distribution of products. If such controls were relaxed, in response to popular resistance, the society might lose the momentum of industrialization in a brief orgy of consumer goods and capital consumption, followed by an awful headache in the morning of returned poverty.

Unfortunately, the necessary economic controls frequently appear to the people of Asia as an intensification of the whole process by which traditional livelihood and customary safeguards have been destroyed by the incursion of money exchange and impersonal law; or, indeed, as simply another form of the oppression to which they have long been subjected. The problems of workable controls, encountered anywhere, are magnified in the Far East, where the traditionally narrow margins of subsistence have bred an inveterately short-run outlook. An effective program would entail strong centralized direction (as in the "Bombay Plan" for India); and it may be that only a totalitarian regime can evoke a sufficiently dynamic response under Oriental conditions.

It is evident that democratic economic development,

staggering difficulties. Progress would necessarily be slow — so slow perhaps as to contribute little to offset the current appeal of the revolutionary movement. Above all, the whole undertaking would be foredoomed unless substantial help were available from outside. An American program of full-scale developmental aid to Asia would, even more than a Marshall Plan, involve greatly increased burdens on our own economy as well as a reduction in our assistance to Europe and other areas.

It is clear that the President does not intend to undertake the enormous job of full-scale developmental aid to Asia, any more than he intends a Marshall Plan for that region. The proposals which he enunciated in his inaugural address have a more modest, perhaps more feasible intent. It would be indeed unfortunate if the beneficiary countries came to expect larger assistance than we are prepared to give, just as it is unfortunate that some Americans have attacked the program on the basis of misconceptions of scope and cost.

### The Limits of "Point Four"

In his statement of "Point Four," Mr. Truman placed primary emphasis on technological and organizational assistance to the underdeveloped countries: "The material resources which we can afford to use for the assistance of other peoples are limited. But our imponderable resources in technical knowledge are constantly growing and are inexhaustible." As to the costs, he urged that "we should foster capital investment;" he did not propose direct outlays by this government, but spoke rather of "guarantees to the investors." To allay fears of imperialism and self-seeking, he extended assurances as to the interests of the countries to be developed and as to cooperation through the United Nations.

These broad concepts are still in the process of discussion and specification. An interdepartmental committee, representing twenty-four agencies and departments, has begun to function in Washington.<sup>13</sup> Initial discussions in quarters inside and outside the government have suggested that while the President's proposal may have originated in response to Latin American demands for a share in ECA, and may have been formulated with African developmental schemes in mind, the Far Eastern countries will receive prominent attention. These discussions have also stressed a preference for an approach by way of individual projects, with emphasis on raw material extraction, especially in the outlook of metropolitan powers toward the development of their colonies.<sup>14</sup> Private financial circles in

<sup>13</sup> *New York Times*, February 4, 1949.

<sup>14</sup> *New York Times*, January 27, 1949, "U.S., Britain Work on Plans for Under-Developed Areas;" February 3, 1949, "French Open to Aid to Assist Colonies."

this country have shown reluctance, and the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development has expressed its unwillingness, to shoulder a major share of the financing.<sup>15</sup> The "guarantees to the investor," which the President had suggested, were widely criticized at first and have since been soft-pedalled. On February 25, Assistant Secretary of State Willard L. Thorp laid the President's program before the United Nations in a formal resolution requesting the UN Secretary-General to prepare a comprehensive plan; this resolution emphasized American determination to channel a great part of the plan through the United Nations, but there was no specification either of immediate actions or of amounts of material aid.

In the light of these first indications, and the underlying problems of the Far East, it is possible to see the limited scope of the President's proposal as well as certain major directions for its greatest effectiveness. In the first place the emphasis on personnel, know-how, and training avoids any new commitment of money or goods. Technological assistance is a vital factor in development, and has frequently been neglected in more grandiose schemes. It would produce sizable effects relative to the effort involved. In order to produce a great effect relative to the needs, however, heavy expenditures would be inescapable. The implementation of technicians' findings would require time, capital goods, operating supplies, and capital funds for the support of the new enterprises during the period of installation and adaptation. A number of existing developmental plans are unable to go into operation for lack of funds and reciprocal financial agreements, as well as for lack of social stability. Since local capital in Far Eastern countries is scarce and reluctant, and since American private and institutional capital also seems hesitant, the United States government may have to prime the investment pump and perhaps actually assume part of the financial risk through "guarantees" to investors.

### Orientation Toward Mass Welfare

In the second place, the project-by-project approach would serve to rehabilitate and develop such enterprises as mines, plantations, certain processing plants, and possibly railroads and other means of transportation. This would be of value both for Asia and for the rest of the world, which needs Asia's products. But it would probably be inadequate for the President's ultimate purposes. Raising mass welfare requires a broader, more sustained, more coordinated effort. Account would have to be taken of sequence and balance, of industrialization and urbanization, of controls and reforms, as

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*, January 30, 1949, "Wall Street Ponders Implications of Truman's 'Bold New Program';" February 1, 1949, "World Bank Chary on Backward Lands."

indicated elsewhere in this article. Provision must be made for certain vitalizing projects which offer no opportunity for direct private profit—e.g., education and disease control. If there is a series of separate investment loans, an over-all review is needed to avoid the accumulation of an insupportable burden of fixed interest charges; and if direct investment is used, attention must be given to projects other than those which would simply shore up the old colonial or other special domination, foreign and native.

A third major direction for maximizing the effects of "Point Four" operations is international integration of national undertakings. In the preparation of ERP it was presupposed that the course of recovery would be facilitated, and the cost to the United States minimized, by regional cooperation among the recipient nations. But actual progress along these lines has been disappointing. Cooperation requires a basis of common interests—interests which are joint and not merely similar, since the latter type, involving the same goods, preferences, and markets, is likely to prove competitive rather than cooperative.

### The Problem of Japan

In any regional planning for the Far East the role of Japan is crucial. If Japan is excluded, the prospects for integration in Asia are even less promising than those in Europe. The Far Eastern countries have been, and still are on the whole, producers of raw materials and importers of finished goods. Trading among themselves—chiefly in food from Southeast Asia and cotton textiles from India and China—has been relatively minor.<sup>16</sup> Capital funds, managerial personnel, and coolie labor, whether of Chinese, Japanese, or Indian origin, showed more intra-Asian mobility, but this was a source of friction more than of harmony, since it set up conflicts in the "plural society" structure of the countries of immigration.

Among Asia's former trading partners, Europe today provides an eager market for raw materials outside the

16 The statistical tabulations on the prewar extent of intra-Asian trade, as presented for example by ECAFE in the *Economic Survey of Asia and the Far East, 1947*, are deceptive in the present regard because they include (a) the role of Japan, and (b) the large volume of purely *entrepot* trade through Singapore, Hongkong, etc. In the cases of India and the Philippines, where *entrepot* trade was not significant, prewar trade with all the ECAFE countries other than Japan amounted to less than ten percent of either imports or exports; while these two countries' trade with Japan alone was more than twice as important to them.

While Japan took only two to fifteen percent of the exports of her various Asiatic neighbors during the middle thirties, she supplied fifteen to thirty percent of their imports, being the largest or second largest supplier in most cases; and this trade amounted to one-third of Japan's total imports and nearly one-half of her exports.

dollar bloc, but can contribute little to the revival of production.<sup>17</sup> The potential catalyst, and explosive element, is Japan. The former enemy is capable of supplying suitable capital goods, investment funds, technicians and administrators who understand Oriental conditions—as well as various cheap manufactured goods adapted to Oriental markets. Japan in turn needs the raw materials and markets of her neighbors, especially in order to remove her present dependence on American supplies. But Japan's potential contribution and benefit also raise the threat of military aggression, economic exploitation, and competition with nascent industries; hence United States policy will have to include careful planning and safeguards in order to obtain Asiatic co-operation with Japan.

From the viewpoint of immediate United States interests, restoration of economic relations between Japan and the rest of Asia would promote the self-support of a country wherein we have assumed a costly and awkward burden of rehabilitation; it would somewhat offset the disappointed Asian hopes of substantial reparations from the defeated enemy. As long ago as May 1947, Mr. Dean Acheson, then Under-Secretary of State, proposed "the reconstruction of those two great workshops of Europe and Asia—Germany and Japan." Efforts at economic integration in Asia would be futile without Japan; but given our commitment in Japan and provided that Japan's demilitarization and democratization are completed and accepted, integration becomes possible and desirable.

### The Long-Range Outlook

It is evident that the modest program offered by the President will not bring overnight a miraculous increase in welfare. But critics who demand large and immediate results must face up to the actual obstacles—in the Far East, here at home, and in our other international commitments. Limited projects of the kind currently being discussed can make definite contributions to reconstruction in Asia and to recovery in Europe. A broader approach might expand those contributions, and promote their influence toward political stability. In the truly long-range view, the President's proposal opens up a tremendous prospect, far vaster than the Marshall Plan for Europe. It is a program for many decades of world-wide cooperative effort to improve the conditions of human life everywhere. Whatever we are able to do at present constitutes only a small beginning on this great enterprise.

17 For example, in the British planning for 1949-53, despite emphasis both on exports and on colonial development, it is not expected that exports of "engineering products" can rise materially above the 1948 level. ("The Long Term Programme of the United Kingdom," in *European Cooperation*, HMSO, Cmd. 7572, pp. 24-25.)

# CHINA'S POSTWAR LIBRARIES

BY GUSSIE ESTHER GASKILL

By THE FALL OF 1946 most Chinese educational and research institutions which had moved to the southwest were reestablished in their prewar homes. During the next two years they were able, to a remarkable degree considering the disturbed economic and political conditions of the country, to resume their scholarly activities. This is true of China's chief libraries.

The National Library of Peiping lost very little during the war. Many of the rarest books were sent to the Library of Congress for safe-keeping, and were microfilmed there under the supervision of a distinguished Chinese bibliographer. On microfilm they are now available to Chinese libraries all over the world. Whatever Russian books the National Library had were taken away by the Japanese, but that loss has been more than made up by the acquisition of a new and more extensive Russian collection. A large number of Japanese books came into the possession of the Library at the end of the war. This past summer new stack space was added, and although the Library has suffered, as have all Chinese educational institutions, from lack of funds, it is in good shape and ready to go ahead with all the vigor of prewar days.

Publication of the *Quarterly Bulletin of Chinese Bibliography*, both Chinese and English editions, has been resumed in Peiping, and so have other publishing activities of the Library. The Library's microfilm equipment was lost during the war, but in 1947, with the support of the China Foundation, a microfilm service was inaugurated to provide research workers with needed materials, the films being made in the United States with the cooperation of Dr. Charles H. Brown, chairman of the American Library Association Committee on the Orient and Southwest Pacific, until new microfilm equipment is ready for use in Peiping.

## Other Large Libraries

The National Central Library, established in a new building of its own in Chungking in January 1941, moved back to its old quarters in Ch'eng Hsien Chieh in Nanking. Considerably enlarged, these quarters were supplemented by the Tsê Ts'un Library, formerly the property of a puppet governor of Kiangsu province, which became a part of the National Central Library

Miss Gaskill is curator of the Wason Collection on China and the Chinese in Cornell University Library. She spent several months in China last year, studying Chinese bibliography and buying books for the Wason Collection.

and was used for the storage of rare editions and as an additional reading room in the north part of the city. The National Central Library grew rapidly during the war; now, with the books brought down from Chungking, those taken over again or added in Nanking, and many rare ones returned from Japan, it has large and important holdings both in Chinese and in Western languages. The Bureau of International Exchange of Publications is a part of the National Central Library, and by law one copy of every book published in China must be deposited with it for registration. A new English-language publication of the Library, *Philobiblon, A Quarterly Review of Chinese Publications*, is of great value to American scholars in the field of Chinese studies.

A new national library in Chungking, the National Roosevelt Library, took over the building and books left behind by the National Central Library. Some of the books taken over from the puppets and the Japanese have also been allotted to it, and funds for its development and support have been appropriated by the Nationalist Government. The director, Yen Wen-yu, spent most of 1947 in the United States on a grant from the American Library Association, studying research library management in various libraries. His travelling expenses to this country and back to China were paid by the Department of State.

The Jên Wên Library, a large research library which the Japanese had built up in Peiping and for which they had erected a large modern three-story building, was turned over to Academia Sinica. The Japanese collection is housed on the first floor, and on the second and third floors is the fine Chinese library, the catalogue of which (*Pei Ching Jên Wên K'o Hsüeh Yen Chiu So Ts'ang Shu Mu Lu*) was published in 1938-39. This library has not yet been opened for use by scholars outside Academia Sinica.

Peiping National University was open all during the Japanese occupation as a puppet university, and its library, like the rest of the university, suffered no material losses and indeed grew considerably during that period.

Tsinghua University in Peiping, on the other hand, was used as a military hospital and suffered greatly from damage to buildings and loss of equipment, including the books, stacks, and furniture of the library. Some of the library's rarest books had been moved to Szechwan for safekeeping, and were destroyed when the place where they were stored in Pei-p'ei was hit

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by a bomb. Many months were spent in restoring the whole university plant, the expense being mostly by the Chinese National Relief and Rehabilitation Administration. The library building, which is large and modern, has been restored to its proper use. The steel stacks, all but one floor of them, have been found and replaced, the book collections have been reassembled and rebuilt as much as possible, and the library is now serving a much larger student body than before the war.

## Books and Money Needed

So much for a brief survey, on the whole fairly encouraging, of a few of the larger libraries. There is a less cheerful side of the picture. The libraries of many smaller institutions suffered losses relatively greater than Tsinghua, and have not been able to make so full a recovery. Many rich private libraries have been lost or dispersed. Many books have been destroyed, besides those lost by bombing. Files of periodicals and books published in the 1920s and 1930s were confiscated by the Japanese as being "anti-Japanese" or were destroyed by owners who feared punishment for the possession of such literature. After Pearl Harbor it became dangerous to own books in English. An acute paper shortage which developed late in the war (and is still as bad or worse than ever) was responsible for the fact that many good old books, great sets of classics, encyclopedias, and so on, were sold by weight as scrap paper. At Chinese New Year time in 1948 Hu Shih, President of Peiping National University, got a special grant from the government to buy up such books from the Peiping book dealers, who would otherwise have been forced to sell them for scrap to settle their debts. Some books have been saved from probable destruction through fairly extensive purchases by several American libraries during the last two years.

Most of the libraries still need Western periodicals and books published between 1937 and 1945 and even later, because a lack of funds has made it impossible to subscribe to periodicals or purchase books abroad except on a very limited scale. This need has been obviated to some extent in about ten cities by the United States Information Service libraries, which, supplied with current American publications as well as with older material, are used a great deal by Chinese readers of all ages and widely varying interests.

Most Chinese libraries need more money for practically everything—for books, for buildings, for staff, even for the minimum upkeep and heating of existing buildings. In the fall of 1947 one of the senior members of the staff of the National Library of Peiping wrote: "The government pays me now, with two bags of flour, thirty odd dollars [US \$30 per month], but even in the United States a dollar isn't a dollar, and

it's much less here." As inflation grew, this state of affairs became worse and worse for teachers, librarians, and other salaried people. Salary which in the fall of 1947 equalled about thirty United States dollars fell in value to about ten dollars by the summer of 1948, and few professors and librarians were getting much more than that. They were spending what they got as soon as they got it, while it would still buy something, and eking out a living by extra teaching, writing for popular periodicals that paid a little for articles, and whatever else they could do.

What of the future? Peiping is now under Communist control, but most of the staffs of the libraries and universities are apparently still there. In the circumstances all they could do was to continue their work and hope for the best. A new China (Communist) News Agency dispatch of January 24, 1949, reports the taking over of Tsinghua University on January 10. A representative of the Military Control Commission for the Peiping district met next morning with the University Affairs Committee, the acting chairman of which is the well-known philosopher Fung Yu-lan, and explained the policies of the Commission as follows:

## The Communist Program

1. From now on, the cultural education for Tsinghua should be the realization of the new democracy, the abolition of those elements of the old educational system that are anti-masses, and the reform of those items in the old system that are alienated from the people.

2. The thorough reform of education is a complex affair, requiring gradual progress. The present organization, except the Kuomintang indoctrination set-up and the anti-revolutionary activities of the Kuomintang and the San Min Chu I Youth Corps, is to be categorically maintained. The hidden firearms of the Kuomintang special agents are to be confiscated by the University Affairs Committee.

3. University expenses will be borne by the Military Control Commission. The present ranks and remunerations of the faculty and staff members are to be maintained. Later promotions and demotions will be effected in accordance with the merits or demerits of each case.<sup>1</sup>

In the afternoon these policies were stated and explained to a general assembly of the University. Later in the same day there was a regular faculty meeting attended by about a hundred professors, at which the representative of the Military Control Commission spoke briefly on the "progress made in industrial, agricultural, cultural and educational fields in the liberated areas, emphasizing the high regard for science and technical research as well as the guarantee of freedom of thought and belief by the Chinese Communist Party and the People's Government." The members of the University may have reason to hope that, for a time anyway, the situation will be at least no worse than in the past.

1 Translated from *China Daily News*, New York, February 1, 1949.

As mentioned above, several American libraries have been buying books rather extensively from Peiping, building up the already fine Chinese collections in this country. There are very good Chinese libraries at the Library of Congress and at Harvard, Columbia, and several other universities. This country has rich materials for the study of Chinese history and culture, and some libraries also have fair collections of materials on modern China. Whatever else has been demonstrated by recent events, it is obvious that as a people we need to learn a great deal more about China. Our libraries will not give us this knowledge, but they are basic to our acquiring it. They must be expanded continually, and in that, as well as in administering and using them, we need the help of Chinese librarians and scholars and access to the fine work they are doing. We need such help, for example, in the classifying and cataloging of our libraries. We in turn could aid the libraries of China to build and use their collections of Western books; and perhaps, in a much wider field, we might help develop public libraries for the use of the Chinese people. The American Library Association Committee has been working on plans along this line. If we are going to work with a Communist-controlled China at all, this is one small area of activity which might be developed. It is not political, and it is not a one-way operation. We need assistance from the Chinese as much as they need it from us.

## BOOKS ON THE PACIFIC AREA

**ANATOMY OF PARADISE:** *Hawaii and the Islands of the South Seas.* By J. C. Furnas. New York: William Sloane Associates, in cooperation with the American Institute of Pacific Relations, 1948. 542 pp. \$5.00.

It is probably inevitable that booksellers will take one look at the title of this volume and place their copies on shelves marked *Travel*. This is standard treatment for works dealing with Hawaii and the South Seas, and it won't do any good for Mr. Furnas or his publishers to protest. If this reviewer had his way *Anatomy of Paradise* would be up with the non-fiction best sellers, where it belongs by reason of importance, fascination, and handling of the subject. The book is addressed to the layman and it conveys, as only a gifted and discriminating reporter can convey, the essential facts of life in the South Seas from the days of early exploration to the turbulent present.

Addressing the reader, the author says: "As an American citizen you are personally and directly answerable for the best interests of 80,000 brown Islanders in Micronesia, and indirectly so for those of a couple of million more assorted Islanders in the rest of the South Seas."

He is right, of course, but this will be news to the public. So will the evidence, impressively marshalled, of confusion compounded all unintentionally by Joe Drakes after he swept through the islands, enroute to Japan.

These are things Americans should know. Occasional correspondents visiting and living about the islands in the wake of war have commented freely on the condition and attitudes of Islanders. But next to nothing has been published for a wide audience indicating the complexity of administrative issues now confronting the United States vis-a-vis the other powers in the area. To some extent Mr. Furnas fills this gap in public information. He handles the subject bluntly and without moral rhapsodizing. Indeed, throughout his book he has shunned rhapsody as well as scientific description, in the interest of simple exposition. This is no mean achievement, as others who have endeavored to write appreciatively but accurately about the islands will attest.

For obvious reasons, the author places contemporary island life against the colorful backdrop of contact with the white man through the years. It is a fabulous, more often than not violent story, the impact of cultures not superior and inferior but "different," and the book is proof that the story bears retelling. Mr. Furnas estimates that the number of volumes about Hawaii and the South Seas must run into five figures. He didn't consult them all, it seems, but he made quite some progress in this direction, buttressing on-the-spot investigation with the study of available literature to an awesome extent. One would expect the author to draw liberally on sources such as the writings of explorers and early voyagers, missionaries, government officials, historians, and anthropologists. Sometimes he has done so at the expense of cluttering up his narrative. Nevertheless, his frequently irreverent use of quotations from, and comment upon, literary effusions about the South Seas are in the nature of real public service. If digested by his audience, the net effect may be to clear away some of the misconceptions that have bedeviled understanding of why things are as they now are out there.

Readers who are familiar with the material, and who bear in mind that the purpose of the book is to entertain as well as instruct, may feel that the author could have enhanced his account by elaborating this or that phenomenon. To have done so in a number of instances would no doubt have made for subtler distinctions and possibly for accuracy. For example, the story of Hawaii's political and economic development is tantalizingly short. The outline is there in sufficient detail to irk sensitive *haoles* of the old school. As the author points out, they irk easily. But the important thing in this connection, it seems to me, is to help the mainland reader to understand why certain *tabus*, which the ancient Hawaiians never thought up, continue to obtain in the modern Territory. I am not sure that the chapter on Hawaii (titled "Land of Makebelieve Come True") accomplishes this.

Nevertheless, if the author thinks that the Maoris have, on the whole, been a more estimable people than the Hawaiians, and if he dwells more sympathetically upon their problems and aspirations, that is his prerogative. For in spite of its encyclopedic character, this is an intensely personal book, provocative, sometimes wry, but clearly dedicated to communicating perspective.

Mr. Furnas has provided a number of excellent photographs and a bibliography of twenty-eight pages. The listings show, he says, that his book is not a work of professional scholarship. This is neither apology nor boast; the listings, however, lead laymen straight to the wealth of other published material about the South Seas. I am not worried about Mr. Furnas's readers; with the introduction to the subject which he has provided in *Anatomy of Paradise*, many of them will put the bibliography to good use. The job is first to lead them to Mr. Furnas.  
New York, N. Y.

JOSEPH BARBER

FAR EASTERN SURVEY

**COLONIAL POLICY AND PRACTICE** Comparative Study of Burma and Netherlands Indies. By J. S. Furnivall. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press; New York: Macmillan, in cooperation with the Institute of Pacific Relations, 1948. 568 pp. 36s; \$7.50.

Mr. Furnivall wrote this extensive and valuable study of colonial policy and practice during World War II at the request of the exiled government of Burma. At the time of the request the government expected the task of economic and political reconstruction, and it wished to learn which features of Dutch colonial rule in Indonesia recommended themselves for adoption in Burma once the country was liberated.

The book consists of two parts. The first half is a survey of the history and of the effect of colonial rule in Burma and Indonesia. The second half discusses at great length general problems of colonial policy, economic progress, material and social welfare, and political development of dependent areas. This part is more valuable and stimulating than the first because of the honesty and frankness with which the author examines and criticizes British colonial policy in Burma and Dutch policy in Indonesia in particular and colonial policy in general. He does not limit himself to Burma and Indonesia, two countries which he knows well either from first hand experience as a member of the Civil Service of Burma or from intensive research, but he draws on other colonial dependencies for his illustrations and evidence to back up his often unorthodox viewpoints.

Modern colonial policy considers economic progress as a condition of greater material and social welfare of the native peoples, and native welfare is considered a condition of political advancement. The economic development brought about by the metropolitan power usually does not achieve the proclaimed aims, as a matter of fact it may do the opposite. In Burma, governed under a system of direct rule, colonial rule undermined all stable elements in social life; it reduced the hereditary leaders of the people to the common rank, broke up the political organization into villages, transformed the village from a social unit into a unit of administration, and the village community into a crowd of individuals; it cut at the roots of the national religion and converted education from a social force into an instrument of individual ambition. . . . The people were freed from servitude to their hereditary chieftains only to find themselves bound to foreign moneylenders in chains firmly riveted by western law. Economic forces, subject to no restraint but law, upset the balance of native economy, . . . ousted native arts, crafts, and industries, and killed the social pastimes and recreations. . . . The growth of debt, the loss of land, the seasonal unemployment, . . . the reduced consumption of rice all indicate growing impoverishment among the great mass of the people, the Burmans in general, while the growth of foreign elements in numbers and wealth was creating a mixture of peoples with nothing in common but the desire of gain." This is indeed a long list of evil phenomena for which Mr. Furnivall makes direct rule responsible.

Indonesia, under indirect rule, was spared the full force of disintegration of its social institutions; so that according to the author "Dutch rule in Java presents a favorable contrast to Burma." But, although Dutch rule may have been successful in softening the impact of the modern West on native social life, the impact on the economic life led to many of the same difficulties and problems under which the Burman peasant is laboring. Mr. Furnivall concludes that neither Dutch indirect rule nor British direct rule achieved the aim of enhancing native material welfare, despite the remarkable economic development of the countries.

Not only did the economic development fail to further material welfare, but it hindered the attainment of self-government. (This was clearly recognized and feared by Filipino leaders in the early days of American rule in the Philippines when they opposed legislation which would have permitted the growth of powerful plantation interests.) Economic development creates obstacles to political independence in the shape of vested foreign economic interests.

Mr. Furnivall is of the opinion that promotion of welfare is possible only in an autonomous society. Self-government implies the existence of a common social will, which was destroyed under the impact of western rule. The solution lies in complete social, economic and political reintegration of tropical communities which disintegrated under foreign rule. The last two chapters outline specific steps to bring about the process of reintegration—a problem which has no counterpart in normal homogeneous western states.

*Yale University*

KARL J. PELZER

**AMERICANS FROM JAPAN.** By Bradford Smith. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott, 1948. 409 pp. \$5.00.

This is a factual but dramatic account of how Japanese came to settle in Hawaii and in the continental United States, and what happened to them, and what they have contributed to America. The style is clear and vivid, and the author has organized the massive materials so cleverly that the reader should have little difficulty in grasping the complex process by which an Oriental population has been measurably absorbed into American life.

The accuracy of his treatment is indicated by the disclosure that racial discrimination does exist in Hawaii as well as on the mainland, albeit it has been free of violence and tempered by kindly paternalism, and inter-marriage has not been banned. One passage which may arouse dissent among older white residents of Hawaii is the account of the exploitation of Japanese plantation laborers, which was certainly rife in the early period. The author says that plantation conditions have been much improved in recent decades, largely because of the growing power of organized labor. It is still true, however, that a Japanese has to be more efficient than a *haole* (white) in order to hold a technical job or draw anywhere near equal pay, whether on a plantation or in a city firm.

The extraordinary service rendered to the war effort in Hawaii by the Emergency Service Committee of Nisei will be news to most mainlanders, as will a number of other little-known facts: that the first Japanese immigrants to Hawaii were contract laborers whose emigration from Japan was allowed by the Japanese government only after tremendous pressure had been exerted by the planters; that no Nisei soldier ever deserted from the front lines, although fifteen percent of all troops did desert; that never did an army know so much about an enemy before actual engagement as did the American army, thanks to brilliant Nisei intelligence work. As General Stilwell said of the Nisei, "They bought an awful big hunk of America with their blood."

The author interprets with keen psychological insight the reactions of both older and younger Japanese on the Coast to the ordeal of evacuation, the relocation centers, and the resettlement. One could wish for a final chapter that would summarize the steps in the assimilative process and contrast its operation in Hawaii and on the Pacific Coast. But the book makes available for the first time in one compact, well-written volume the whole story of the Japanese settlers in America, set against the folkways of the old country.

GALEN M. FISH

MARCH 23, 1949

# NEWS CHRONOLOGY

February 18 to March 3, 1949

February 18: *China.* General Sun Li-jen, former commander of the New First Army of Manchuria, is now directing an army camp in Formosa where 30,000 Nationalist troops are reportedly being trained with US techniques and equipment.

February 18: *Indonesia.* In a debate on the government's Indonesian policy, the second chamber of the Dutch parliament defeats 76 to 15 a motion of non-confidence in the government.

February 18: *Korea.* President Rhee opposes UN attempts to negotiate with the government of North Korea, calling any such move a tacit recognition of the Communist government as well as an affront to his own government in the south.

February 19: *India.* A plan is announced to form a territorial army of 130,000 men as a second line of defense behind the Indian Army. Police launch a nation-wide roundup of Communists in an attempt to avert a threatened strike of one million railway employees.

February 22: *China.* Acting President Li warns the Communists they must not cross the Yangtze if they want peace.

February 22: *Indochina.* It is understood that an agreement between the French government and Bao Dai, former Emperor of Annam, is virtually completed. The agreement reportedly provides for the constitution of a state of Viet Nam comprising Annam, Tonkin, and Cochinchina, with its capital at Hue. It would be independent in internal affairs, remaining within the French Union.

February 22: *Japan.* Three US cotton industry associations approve a proposal to send a joint Anglo-American textile survey mission to Japan.

February 23: *Korea.* Brisk trade is reported to have sprung up between North Korea and British Hongkong.

February 23: *India.* It is estimated that approximately 3,000 persons have been arrested as Communists within the past four days.

February 24: *China.* The Communist radio announces that the Nationalists' preliminary peace delegation has conferred with the Communist leaders, Mao Tse-tung and Gen. Chou En-lai, at Shihkiachwang.

February 24: *Japan.* Premier Yoshida's cabinet is reported to have agreed on a tentative national budget for 1949, at a record total of 578 billion yen (slightly more than \$2,000,000,000 at the official exchange rate).

February 24: *United States.* Republican Congressmen press the Truman administration for new material aid to Nationalist China or for a warning declaration against the Chinese Communists.

February 25: *Burma.* It is announced that representatives of Britain, India, Pakistan, Ceylon, and Australia will meet in India to discuss appeals for help from strife-torn Burma.

February 25: *Nepal.* Nepal submits her application for membership in the United Nations.

February 25: *United States.* Secretary of the Army Royall states that American troops will fight if Japan is attacked, adding that he does not believe that the Soviet Union will attack Japan nor that war is imminent.

February 26: *Burma.* Government reports state that the Karen troops advancing on Mandalay have been halted and now face annihilation.

February 26: *India.* Press reports state that Communists

have begun armament at Calcutta to obtain arms and ammunition.

February 26: *Indonesia.* The Dutch government announces that it has invited the Indonesian Republicans and all other factions in the Netherlands Indies to a conference at The Hague on March 12 to settle the colonial war.

February 26: *Pakistan.* Sir Khwaja Nazimuddin, Governor-General, announces the creation of a fifth province of Pakistan, to be called Baluchistan.

February 28: *Burma.* British Dominion representatives meeting in New Delhi decide to offer help to the government of Burma to put an end to the civil war in that country.

February 28: *India.* Prime Minister Nehru states that the activities of the Communist Party in India during the past year have "bordered on open revolt."

February 28: *Indonesia.* Republican leaders reject the Netherlands invitation to a round-table conference at The Hague.

February 28: *Siam.* Confused fighting that took at least fifty lives in Bangkok is charged officially to a "misunderstanding" among the Siamese Army, Navy, and Marines.

March 1: *Indonesia.* The UN Commission for Indonesia blames the Netherlands for creating a political deadlock in the East Indies by ignoring the instructions of the Security Council.

March 1: *United States.* The House of Representatives passes a bill to lift the barriers against the admission and subsequent naturalization of Asiatics in the US.

March 2: *Japan.* It is reported that US troop strength in Japan will be increased by about 20,000 men during the fiscal year starting July 1, 1949.

March 3: *China.* Premier Sun Fo states that the Communists have agreed to discuss peace on a basis of equality with the Nationalist government, in talks which are to begin soon after March 15.

March 3: *Indonesia.* After refusal of imprisoned Republican leaders to attend a conference at The Hague, the Netherlands government receives a new group to represent former Republican territories. Between eastern nations, members of the UN, will hold a conference in New York to plan for diplomatic action against the Netherlands for its policy in Indonesia.

The FAR EASTERN SURVEY assumes no responsibility for the accuracy of items in the "News Chronology." The chronology is based on reports in the *New York Herald Tribune* and the *New York Times*. It is prepared by Arthur N. Feraru.

## FAR EASTERN SURVEY

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PUBLISHED FORTNIGHTLY BY THE AMERICAN INSTITUTE OF PACIFIC RELATIONS, INC., 1 EAST 54TH ST., NEW YORK 22, N. Y. RAY LYMAN WILBUR, Chairman; CLAYTON LANE, Executive Secretary; DONALD B. STRAUS, Treasurer; KATRINE R. C. GREENE, Assistant Secretary; TILLIE G. SHAHN, Assistant Treasurer. ANNUAL SUBSCRIPTION, \$6.00; SINGLE COPIES, 25c.

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FAR EASTERN SURVEY

# Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Director, FBI

FROM : SAC New York

SUBJECT: INSTITUTE OF PACIFIC RELATIONS;  
INTERNAL SECURITY-C

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

DATE: April 12, 1949

Submitted herewith are two photostatic copies of "News of the I.P.R." for April, 1949 which includes the 1948 Annual Report of the Institute of Pacific Relations and "Far Eastern Survey, April 6, 1949," [REDACTED] For information.

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Enclosures (3)

ENCLOSURE BEHIND FILE

EX-11

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# News of the I. P. R.

## AMERICAN IPR MEMBERS' NEWS LETTER

9 I EAST 54TH STREET, NEW YORK 22, NEW YORK

Volume I, No. 5

### ANNUAL REPORT, 1948

AMERICAN INSTITUTE OF PACIFIC RELATIONS

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On completing the year 1948, the American IPR can look back at a substantial achievement in research and publication and to considerable adjustment to both financial curtailment and extensive staff changes; it looks forward to a sound program of research, conferences and publications in 1949.

At the end of 1947, owing to a marked decline in grants and contributions from the high tide of wartime and early postwar generosity (a decline evident in the income of most American non-profit organizations) a major budget cut was required. Both the education program and the pamphlet series were suspended, office space was reduced, arrangements were made with the International Secretariat whereby they generously assumed responsibility for publications, and other operating economics were effected.

Despite this economy program, the American IPR's record during 1948 included substantial work, in research, publications, and conferences.

There follows a list of the ten items published in 1948, and the first item published in 1949:

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PUBLICATIONS

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1948

1. BURMESE ECONOMIC LIFE. By J. Russell Andrus. Stanford University Press in cooperation with American IPR. 362 pp. \$4.00.
2. OLD CHINA HANDS AND THE FOREIGN OFFICE. By Nathan A. Pelcovits. King's Crown Press in cooperation with American IPR. 360 pp. \$3.75.
3. INDONESIAN STORY. The Birth, Growth, and Structure of the Indonesian Republic. By Charles Wolf, Jr. John Day, in cooperation with American IPR. 203 pp. \$3.00.
4. DEVELOPMENT OF SELF-RULE AND INDEPENDENCE IN BURMA, MALAYA, AND THE PHILIPPINES. By John F. Cady (Burma), Patricia G. Barnett (Malaya), and Shirley Jenkins (Philippines). Issued by American IPR. 109 pp. \$1.25. Mimeo graphed.
5. CURRENT AMERICAN RESEARCH ON THE FAR EAST AND THE WESTERN PACIFIC. By the staff of the American IPR. Reprinted from the May 1948 issue of the Far Eastern Quarterly. 25 cents.
6. THE ALLIED OCCUPATION OF JAPAN. By Edwin M. Martin. Stanford University Press in cooperation with American IPR. 155 pp. \$3.00.
7. CHINA: THE LAND AND THE PEOPLE. By Gerald F. Winfield. William Sloane Associates in cooperation with American IPR. 450 pp. \$5.00.
8. ANATOMY OF PARADISE: Hawaii and the Islands of the South Seas. By J. C. Furnas. William Sloane Associates in cooperation with American IPR. 542 pp. \$5.00.
9. THE PHILIPPINES--Problems of Independence. By Lawrence K. Rosinger. Foreign Policy Association in cooperation with American IPR. 25 cents.
10. INDONESIA IN CRISIS. By Raymond Kennedy and Paul W. Hattenberg. Foreign Policy Association in cooperation with American IPR. 25 cents.

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11. AMERICA'S PACIFIC DEPENDENCIES. A Survey of American Administration and Progress toward Self-Rule in Alaska, Hawaii, Guam, Samoa and the Trust Territory. By Rupert Emerson, Lawrence S. Finkelstein, E. L. Bartlett, George H. McLane and Roy L. Jones. Issued by the American IPR. 125 pp. \$1.50. Mimeo graphed.

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COOPERATION WITH THE FOREIGN POLICY ASSOCIATION

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Two of the items above are products of a new arrangement whereby the American IPR has agreed to co-sponsor Reports on Asian questions issued by the Foreign Policy Association. The first two were published in September and

December, respectively. Items scheduled for 1949 include:

WHAT CAN THE UNITED STATES DO IN CHINA? March 15, 1949.  
By Gerald F. Winfield, John K. Fairbank, George E. Taylor.

INDIA AND PAKISTAN (tentative title). June 1, 1949.  
By Phillips Talbot.

It is the American IPR'S intention to continue and expand this and other forms of cooperation with the Foreign Policy Association, and with other organizations in the field of international affairs.

Some examples of such cooperation may be mentioned here. Since the fall of 1947, the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, in cooperation with the Woodrow Wilson Foundation, the FPA and the American IPR, has been sending the periodicals of these four agencies to 40 national service organizations - such as the American Farm Bureau, Catholic War Veterans, Congress of Industrial Organizations, General Federation of Women's Clubs, Lions International, etc.

These materials, which include the FAR EASTERN SURVEY, are sent free of charge to the editors of the agencies' own periodicals for use either as background information or for direct quotation. Thus indirectly, but nonetheless effectively, the IPR's materials are reaching a broader audience.

#### CONFERENCES & MEETINGS

More active cooperation was evidenced in the case of the Dayton Council on World Affairs. This new group, under the able leadership of Mr. Edward E. Hanson, whose interest in the Far East was stimulated during his service in American Military Government in Korea, made a Conference on American Far Eastern Policy one of the major items of their 1948-49 program - their first year of full-scale operation. The American IPR's contribution included agenda; reading lists; list of names of IPR members and of former UNRRA China staff, and other potential conference members in the Dayton region; suggestions for speakers; a good collection of publications for display and for free distribution, etc. It was possible to schedule Mr. Lane's West Coast visit to include two days in Dayton, where he acted as chairman and moderator at this highly successful meeting. The IPR is confident that, with this outstanding conference as its first major achievement, the Dayton Council on World Affairs is now well on the way to effective educational work in its community on vital international problems.

Other conferences included a July 1948 seminar for social studies teachers and students held at the University of Wisconsin in cooperation with the American IPR. Although it is by no means Institute policy to recommend only its own present and former personnel, by chance it turned out that all the specialists who led this seminar were former IPR staff members or authors, many of them scholars whose first recognition came about as a result of their association with the Institute. This is one aspect of the IPR's work of which it is especially proud. Opportunities have often been given to students of Far Eastern questions to expand their knowledge.

develop their scholarship and, through IPR publications and other activities, advance rapidly toward professional recognition.

In November, the American IPR renewed a well-established tradition of holding a conference on Far Eastern policy in cooperation with the Maxwell Graduate School of Citizenship and Public Affairs at Syracuse University. Jointly held for a number of years in the 'thirties, this series was discontinued during the war, and the 1943 meeting marked its resumption, again under the stimulating leadership of Professor Philip H. Taylor. During the spring months this year Professor Taylor is working at the University of Hawaii, and there too he is taking an active part in the IPR's program.

The Pacific Northwest Division of the American IPR, which was formally incorporated in Seattle on April 7, 1948, has been the most active IPR regional group in respect to conferences. A full record of that group's work will be found on page 16 below.

In prospect are two conferences: the Conference on Indian-American Relations, to be held in cooperation with the Indian Council of World Affairs in New Delhi during December 1949, and the American IPR's own national conference, to be held on the West Coast this summer. The American IPR is also cooperating with Colgate University on their meeting in July 1949 on American Foreign Policy.

In New York, a major activity is a New York Study Group. Meeting for a series of six sessions in the winter and spring, this group began by discussing American Policy Toward Eastern Asia, and has now expanded the discussion agenda to include southern Asia and India as well. Including representatives of business, the press and the universities, and missionaries, this group of about 30 constitutes a cross-section of informed and responsible American opinion on the crucial problems of current Far Eastern developments.

Another New York activity this winter has been the resumption of downtown lunches. Held at the Bankers Club through the courtesy of an Institute member, these gatherings of thirty to forty businessmen are addressed off-the-record by local experts, visitors from the Far East, and scholars. On his return from India, Mr. Carter opened the series, followed by an address on China by Gerald F. Winfield, author of the American IPR's new CHINA: THE LAND AND THE PEOPLE, and by K. A. D. Naoroji, president of Tata, Inc., who spoke on Indian economic problems.

Although independently organized, a small study group in which the American IPR is much interested is the one now in session in Cambridge. Here a small group of graduate students meet regularly to discuss long-term problems of Asia which are the foundations on which an American foreign policy must be built.

A leader of the group in Los Angeles recently expressed interest in resuming discussion meetings and increasing local membership. The Washington office was closed for budget reasons at the end of 1948, but one subsequent meeting of the American IPR group there was addressed by Mr. Lane. The recent formation of a World Affairs Center in Washington by Mr. Arthur Sweetser, Mrs. Gifford Pinchot and others was accompanied by discussions and correspondence regarding participation by American IPR members.

## RESEARCH IN PROGRESS

The American IPR's current research program constitutes an impressive body of work, and one which should result in several very substantial publications next year. Following a precedent set in 1947, the December 1948 issue of INTERNATIONAL CONCILIATION - the monthly periodical of the Carnegie Endowment - was entirely devoted to a list of "Current Research in International Affairs - A Selected Bibliography of Work in Progress by Private Research Agencies in the United States, United Kingdom, Canada, Australia, South Africa, India, and Pakistan." The IPR as a whole, both international and American, takes a good deal of pride in the fact that, out of some 484 items listed by 61 organizations, the 67 IPR projects form by far the largest bloc. This number excludes, however, several studies which form part of the IPR's international research program but which are listed under other institutions, for example the Indian Council of World Affairs.

Those interested in obtaining a comprehensive picture of the status of research on Far Eastern problems today, both in the United States and in other countries, should keep the following three items on their reference shelf:

- INTERNATIONAL CONCILIATION, December 1948. 10¢, obtainable from the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 405 West 117th Street, New York.
- CURRENT AMERICAN RESEARCH ON THE FAR EAST AND THE WESTERN PACIFIC (see item No. 5, page 2 above), obtainable from the American IPR free of charge.

The following list of American IPR research in progress:

Our current research may be divided into three parts: preparation for the India-America Conference; general research on Pacific Area problems; and the FAR EASTERN SURVEY.

A. DATA PAPERS FOR THE INDIA-AMERICA CONFERENCE

In Progress

1. MAIN TRENDS IN POSTWAR AMERICAN FOREIGN POLICY, with special reference to those aspects which affect Indian-American relations.  
By Vera Michele Dean.
2. INDIAN-AMERICAN POLITICAL RELATIONS - A detailed analysis of day-to-day Indian-U.S. political and diplomatic relationships.  
By Lawrence K. Rosinger.
3. INDIAN-AMERICAN ECONOMIC RELATIONS, and the effects of India's Basic Economy and Current Economic Conditions on Indian-American Relations.  
By Johnson G. Cooper.

4. THE TRANSFORMATION OF INDIA FROM A RELIGIOUS TO A SECULAR SOCIETY, and the effect upon India's relations with other countries of the manner in which she handles her secularization, both today and as it is likely to develop in the future. By Phillips Talbot.
5. BOOKS TO READ ON THE UNITED STATES for Indian members of the India-America Conference.

Planned

6. THE POSITION OF MINORITIES IN THE UNITED STATES with special reference to their bearing on American Relations with India and other Asian countries.
7. INDIAN - AMERICAN CULTURAL RELATIONS.

B. GENERAL RESEARCH

1. AMERICAN FAR EASTERN POLICY SINCE 1945. By Miriam S. Farley. This book is to supplement the IPR's earlier volume America's Far Eastern Policy by L. A. Bisson. It will be published under the auspices of the American IPR in 1949.
2. ANNUAL REVIEW OF THE FAR EAST AND UNITED STATES FAR EASTERN POLICY. By Lawrence K. Rosinger. The first of a new series of annual surveys which will contain a detailed account of the political, economic, military, and social developments in each country in their national and international setting, with special reference to the policies of the United States. The first volume covering 1949 will be published early in 1950.
3. U. S. ECONOMIC POLICY IN THE FAR EAST. By David Jenkins. A detailed analysis of economic conditions in Far Eastern countries (especially China, Japan and Korea), with special reference to postwar American economic policy. To be published in 1949.
4. HISTORY OF CHINESE SOCIETY. A comprehensive survey of Chinese institutional history, based on dynastic histories. The first volume on the Liao Dynasty by Karl A. Wittfogel and Feng Chia-sheng is to be published under the auspices of the American IPR and the American Philosophical Society by the Macmillan Company, New York, early in 1949.
5. MICRONESIA TODAY. By Leonard Mason. This survey of political, economic, and social problems in the trust territory since 1945 is being made in cooperation with the University of Hawaii. To be completed about May 1949 and published late in 1949.
6. AMERICAN ECONOMIC POLICY TOWARDS THE PHILIPPINES. By Shirley Jenkins. A preliminary draft of this study was submitted as a paper for the Tenth IPR Conference. The revised report will be published in 1949.
7. FREEDOM OF PERSON IN SOUTHEAST ASIA. By Bruno Lasker. This historical study of bondage in many forms is to be issued under the auspices of the American IPR during 1949. The University of North Carolina Press hopes to publish the book.

8. THE FAR EAST IN UNITED STATES FOREIGN ECONOMIC POLICY. By Irving S. Friedman and Margaret V. Gerritsen. This brief report, stressing the effects of Far Eastern economic developments on the international economic position and financial policy of the United States, will be issued during 1949.
9. ECONOMIC GEOGRAPHY OF SOUTHEAST ASIA. By J. C. M. Broek. This study, being prepared under the auspices of the American IPR, and financed by the Coolidge Foundation, has been continued by the author during his stay in Holland and Java. The first volume will probably be completed late in 1949.
10. THE SHAPING OF MODERN INDIA. By Daniel and Alice Thorner. This concise review of social structure and major political economic developments in India has been completed. Arrangements for its publication are now in process.
11. AN ECONOMIC SUMMARY OF THE OCCUPATION OF JAPAN, 1945-48. By Keene Peterson. This brief survey is being prepared at the University of Washington as part of the program of the Pacific Northwest Division of the American IPR. To be completed late in 1949.
12. POSTWAR FISHERIES IN THE PACIFIC. By Kline Swygard. A short survey of the history of the halibut, sockeye, and other fisheries agreements in effect, and the problems of other fisheries likely to require international control, with emphasis on the postwar fisheries programs of the U.S.A., the U.S.S.R., and of Japan under the Occupation. To be completed for the Pacific Northwest Division of the American IPR late in 1949.
13. HAWAII IN THE MAKING. By Andrew V. Lind. A short background study of the Islands as they approach statehood. To be published in 1949.

In 1946 and again in 1947, the American IPR prepared annotated bibliographies on the chief regions of the Far East. These were published in the FAR EASTERN SURVEY and then distributed in reprint form, at ten cents apiece. During the spring of 1949, revised bibliographies will be prepared and similarly published, first as articles in the SURVEY, and then as reprints.

In April or May 1949, two items will be issued by the International Secretariat which will be of interest to American IPR members. First will be the IPR BULLETIN, the Secretariat's occasional newsletter, reporting the activities of the National Councils and on the International Research Program. Although it is prepared largely for the use of the Councils and their officers, it has been the American IPR's practice to send copies of the BULLETIN to all members. This practice will again be followed in 1949.

The second item is the long-awaited catalogue. Listing all IPR publications still in print, this catalogue will be published early in May.

#### C. FAR EASTERN SURVEY

The year just closed has seen momentous happenings in the Far East - the broadening sweep of communism, the stiffening of American policy toward the USSR, and the resulting alterations of American policy throughout

the Pacific, particularly evident in Japan. In covering this complex scene, the SURVEY has maintained a careful balance. In 1948, it initiated a series of "university issues" - entire issues prepared by professors and students in the Asian area institutes in the leading American universities. Johns Hopkins opened the series with a group report on Sinkiang. This was followed by issues prepared at Harvard and at the University of Washington, largely concerned with Chinese problems; and at Yale, on Southern Asian and Japanese questions.

On current and very recent events, the SURVEY carried an outstanding group of articles reporting the economic, political and social aspects of the Korean situation, including a description of the constitution of South Korea. This article was one of a series of studies of postwar Asian constitutions which began two years ago with a particularly authoritative analysis of the new Chinese constitution by Professor Joseph P. Chamberlain. The spread of communism in Asia, one of the major developments in the Pacific during the last year, has been currently and carefully documented in the SURVEY. A notable issue was that of November 17, featuring two articles on Indonesia, one describing the background political and social forces out of which the Indonesian deadlock grew; the other providing perhaps the only on-the-spot report of the communist uprising from a responsible observer which appeared in any section of the American press up to that date.

This record was maintained despite changes in the SURVEY's editorship. To the Institute's regret, Mr. Laurence E. Salisbury resigned as editor in May, and for seven months thereafter his duties were carried by Mr. Philip E. Lilienthal, who continued as editor of PACIFIC AFFAIRS. Mr. Lilienthal made a valuable contribution to the American IPR by taking on this heavy load of extra work in addition to his regular duties for the International Secretariat. The Executive Committee formally expressed its appreciation to Mr. Lilienthal in December, when it was announced that Miss Miriam S. Farley, formerly of the Government Section, SCAP, and author of THE PROBLEM OF JAPANESE TRADE EXPANSION IN THE POSTWAR SITUATION, would join the American IPR staff as editor of the SURVEY.

#### RETIREMENT OF MR. EDWARD C. CARTER

1948 was a momentous turning-point for the Institute, for toward the end of the year, Mr. Edward C. Carter, who for so long had been its leading executive, whether in the International Secretariat or in the American IPR, retired from active administrative responsibility, thus concluding twenty-three years' service in the IPR during which he played a major and widely recognized role in building up a research organization unique in its structure and some of its methods and outstanding in its achievements.

In recognition of Mr. Carter's services, the Officers and Trustees of the American IPR tendered a dinner in his honor on March 15th, immediately following upon the Annual Meeting of the Board of Trustees. Mr. Arthur H. Dean, Vice-Chairman of the American IPR, presided, and the speakers included Mr. W. R. Herod, a Trustee of the American IPR and President of the International General Electric Company; Ambassador Philip C. Jessup, for-

U. S. Ambassador-at-large; Mr. Huntington Gilchrist, Chairman of the Pacific Council; and Mr. W. L. Holland, Secretary-General of the IPR. Over 150 Trustees, friends, members, former and present staff, and leaders in the scholarly world attended. Communications paying tribute to Mr. Carter were received from eight of the twelve National Councils and from many distinguished individuals including: Dr. Hu Shih, President, Peiping National University; Walter Nash, New Zealand Minister of Finance; Arnold Toynbee of the Royal Institute of International Affairs; Sumner Welles, former Under Secretary of State; Isaiah Bowman, former President, Johns Hopkins University; H. N. Kunzru, President, Indian Council of World Affairs; James T. Shotwell, Acting President, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. These messages were all in tribute to Mr. Carter's constructive achievements during his association with the Institute.

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#### APPOINTMENT OF MR. CLAYTON LANE

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On October 1, 1948, Mr. Clayton Lane succeeded Mr. Carter as Executive Secretary of the American IPR. He had recently retired from the U. S. Foreign Service, after 25 years' service in Europe, Africa, Asia and the United States. His service included four years in India as senior politico-economic officer.

Other staff changes during 1948 included the resignation of Mrs. Celestine G. Nott and the appointment of Miss Katrine R. C. Greene as Assistant Secretary, and the appointment of Mr. Lawrence K. Rosinger as Research Associate under a special grant from the Rockefeller Foundation. Full details of these appointments were given in earlier issues of NEWS OF THE IPR.

Throughout 1948, as was the case in 1947, the American IPR was fortunate to have Dr. Dorothy Borg, author of AMERICAN POLICY AND THE CHINESE REVOLUTION 1925-28, act as correspondent for the FAR EASTERN SURVEY in China. During much of the year Dr. Borg was in Peiping, but she later moved to Shanghai. As Research Associate of the International Secretariat, Dr. Borg has kept the Institute in touch with university studies in China, as well as with current political developments. Her valuable article on changes in Chinese opinion about the United States, which appeared in the SURVEY of February 23, 1949, is an example of the sort of scholarly documentation and analysis of a "hot" current problem in which the Institute may reasonably take much pride.

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#### REGIONAL PROGRAMS

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Both the Seattle and the Hawaii IPR groups were particularly active during 1948. In Seattle, the IPR has broadened its work by sponsoring research projects. Described as Nos. 11 and 12 in the list of current research on page 7 above, these form part of the Institute's general research program, but are particularly suited for local sponsorship, inasmuch as they concern regional aspects of problems which the IPR wishes to study both nationally and on the international level. It is hoped that these projects will be so successful that the Pacific Northwest Division will continue to expand fur-

ther into the research field, as well as continuing its very active educational and conference program.

There follow brief summaries of the activities of the regional groups of the American IPR.

#### REPORT OF THE PACIFIC NORTHWEST DIVISION

The research of the IPR, upon which all of its other activities depend, is carried on largely through the National Office and the International Secretariat. The Board of Trustees of this Division has felt, however, the importance of fostering its own tradition of sound study of the Pacific Area, especially in view of its long-range importance to the development of this region. It has therefore adopted a policy of stimulating such research locally by providing the critical marginal support to complete approved research projects. The National Office has adopted a parallel policy of granting material encouragement to some of the research of this Division. Two projects under way are described as Nos. 11 and 12 on page 7 above.

Three conferences have been held. In November 1947, the 10th Annual Joint Conference of the IPR and the Victoria and Vancouver Branches of the Canadian Institute of International Affairs was held at the Olympic Hotel, Seattle, for two days. Roundtable discussions focused on problems of postwar Japan, Southeast Asia and the Philippines. One or more sessions were attended by more than two hundred people from the State of Washington, British Columbia, California, Honolulu, New York City, Denver, and Washington D.C.

In May 1948, a one-day conference on American policy in China was held at the Olympic Hotel, and was attended by authorities on this subject drawn from business and professional groups in Seattle. Nineteen organizations, devoted wholly or in part to the study of international affairs, shared in the sponsorship of the conference.

In November 1948, a third meeting was held - the 11th Joint Conference of the IPR's Northwest Division and the Canadian Institute's West Coast branches. The Political Round Table concentrated on Japan, its military potential, constitution, agrarian questions and a possible peace treaty; while the economic group discussed trade with China and Japan, private enterprise and, in particular, postwar aspects of the fisheries problem.

Seven authoritative lectures were presented during the year, some to the public and some by invitation to members and their guests.

WILLIAM L. HOLLAND, Secretary General of the IPR, addressed the annual dinner on America's Responsibilities in Asia.

J. D. ZELLERBACH, President of Crown Zellerbach Corporation and a Trustee of the American IPR, spoke on the Marshall Plan from a businessman's point of view.

DR. F. D. INSTOR, Professor of Literature at the University of Allahabad, spoke on India in transition.

Within the course of lectures, "Revolution in Asia", four lectures have been presented:

PHILLIPS TALBOT lectured on India on the basis of his eight years in that country as student and foreign correspondent.

GEORGE H. KERR presented the lecture on Japan and Formosa, drawing on long experience as student and Foreign Service officer in those areas.

FRANZ H. MICHAEL lectured on revolutionary factors in China.

HAROLD ISAACS, author and correspondent, completed the series with a lecture on South Asia.

The Business Executives' Seminar has held monthly meetings on subjects of practical concern to businessmen interested in trade with the Pacific Area. Discussion leaders in the first half year included Judge Norwood F. Allman, prominent American attorney in China; Ashley Guy Hope, U. S. Consul at Shanghai; Mr. Holland and Mr. Talbot, who have also been presented to the entire membership and in some cases to the public at large.

Later meetings of the Seminar were addressed by the delegates from the U.S., Canada, China, and Australia and the Secretary-General to the International Civil Aviation Organization, who discussed North Pacific air transportation. Frederick J. Hinke, who has been U. S. Consul at Tientsin for two years, reported on conditions in North China. Shannon McCune, head of the Geography Department at Colgate University, discussed Asia's industrial resources; William P. Pallis, Professor of Russian studies at the University of Washington, discussed the enigma of Russia; and Ernest L. Mealy, Far Eastern Division Manager of Farclay and Company, discussed the mechanics of doing business in Japan.

In February 1949, Mr. Lane visited Seattle, addressed the Trustees and other groups, and attended the Division's Annual Meeting.

Servicing other organizations with books, pamphlets and qualified speakers is an important function of the Pacific Northwest Division. Mr. J. D. Zellerbach was made available to the Seattle Chamber of Commerce. Mr. William Holland addressed the Seattle Bar Association and Tacoma World Affairs Council. Both Mr. Holland and Mr. Harold Isaacs addressed the Washington State Institute of International Affairs, sponsored by the American Friends Service Committee. The Friends' Institute also offered for sale in its Book Room some hundred dollars' worth of IPR books and pamphlets. The IPR is prepared to assist other organizations whose purposes include fostering greater understanding of the Far East.

In its effort to stimulate informed thinking on the Pacific Area, the Pacific Northwest Division has extended the fullest possible cooperation to the press and radio services of the community without, however, jeopardizing certain features of the organization which call for discussion of an unpublicized nature from time to time. Book reviews and feature stories have appeared in the daily papers. Digests of articles from IPR journals appear in trade magazines; IPR lecturers have been made available for press interviews. Twelve radio interviews or roundtable discussions

have been held. The cooperation of these news services has helped to bring the estimated total attendance at IPR functions to 2,320 for the year.

The total income during the calendar year 1948 for the Pacific Northwest Division was \$12,467.00, as compared with total expenses of \$11,442.00. Of this income approximately \$7,632 was derived from memberships and donations, \$4,299.00 from Foundation grants, and \$535.00 from other sources.

The Officers of the Pacific Northwest Division are: Raymond B. Allen, Chairman; Edward W. Allen, Michael Dederer, John F. Herber, Herbert S. Little, Charles E. Martin, Vice-Chairmen; Willard J. Wright, Secretary; Edwin E. Adams, Treasurer; Charles P. Rockwood, Executive Director.

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#### REPORT OF THE HAWAII GROUP

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Operating at the center from which the entire IPR grew, the Hawaii Group has always maintained an outstanding program aimed both at the schools and colleges and at the community's business leaders.

During 1948 the IPR office in the Dillingham Building Annex continued to serve as a clearing house of information on Pacific problems for members, business firms, students and the armed forces; and it continued its contacts with other organizations. In addition, it kept in touch with important officials and individuals stopping over in Hawaii en route to and from Asia and the South Pacific. The library and its reference services were constantly used, and a feature much appreciated and used was the air-mail clippings from the "New York Times" and the "New York Herald Tribune".

THE STUDENTS FAR EAST ROUND TABLE, a club made up of 100 students selected by social science teachers of nine public and private high schools, met monthly with a regular and sustained attendance. They discussed with community leaders current issues in India, the Pacific Islands, Southeast Asia, Japan, and Russia.

A CITY-WIDE HIGH SCHOOL STUDENTS CONFERENCE was held at the University of Hawaii. The theme of the conference was "The Foreign Policy of the United States. What is U. S. foreign policy today? What are its strong points? What are its weaknesses?"

A THREE DAY CONFERENCE was sponsored jointly with the University of Hawaii International Relations Club at Camp Erdman on the topic: "Can the Split Between the East and the West be Reconciled?" Some 100 university students and faculty members attended.

A GROUP OF BUSINESSMEN met with Professor James H. Shoemaker of the University of Hawaii for a series of current events discussions centered around vital issues, e.g. Britain's plight as America's problem; Russia's economic program and its objectives; American policy in the Far East; the Marshall Plan; Conflicts of Russian-American economic policy.

AN OBJECTIVE ORIENTATION COURSE ON THE SOVIET UNION was led by Mr. Arthur J. Marder of the University of Hawaii at Punahoa School for members and

teachers. The average attendance of this group was over 300, and some 50 teachers received in-service credit from the Department of Public Instruction. This group met weekly for two months.

A FORUM on "Power Politics South of the Equator" was led by Dr. K. C. Leedrick, Vice-President of the University of Hawaii.

A REPORT OF THE STATE DEPARTMENT'S UNESCO CONFERENCE HELD IN SAN FRANCISCO was given by Dr. Allen F. Saunders, Chairman of Hawaii's delegation of twenty-one. Drs. Adeline E. Babbitt, Andrew Lind, Chester K. Wentworth, Rev. Charles Hosking, and Richard Kosaki acted as commentators.

SPECIAL DINERS were given in honor of Dr. and Mrs. Raymond B. Allen; Dr. P. L. Atreya of Benares Hindu University, India; Consul-General John Cabot of Shanghai; and other leaders passing through Honolulu.

A TEA for women members was given by Mrs. Malcolm Macintyre. Bishop Harry S. Kennedy spoke on "Two Oceans: One World."

A DINNER-MEETING was held at the Pacific Club for Mr. Edward C. Carter, en route to the mainland from his assignment with UN's Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East.

A Summary Report of the Hawaii Group's Receipts and Disbursements for the year 1948 follows:

Receipts

Cash Balance as of January 1, 1948	\$ 2,078.11
Contributions and Membership Dues	9,957.50
Sale of Publications	<u>111.22</u>
	\$12,146.83

Disbursements

Salaries	\$ 6,882.00
Rent	1,181.26
Office Expenses	669.53
Meetings and Conferences	615.08
Pacific Affairs, Far Eastern Survey	1,108.50
Dinner and Entertainment	296.82
Purchase of Books for Library & Resale	267.78
Transportation	475.50
Printing and Publications	<u>310.00</u>
	\$11,803.47
Cash Balance as of December 31, 1948	343.36

The Officers of the Hawaii Group are: Heaton I. Wrenn, Chairman; G. W. Fisher, Vice-Chairman; Frank E. Midkiff, Treasurer; Charles F. Loomis, Secretary.

INLAND EMPIRE BRANCH

For the year 1949, the following officers of the Inland Empire Branch were elected: H. J. Wood, President; R. H. Farmer, Vice-President; Claude A. Campbell, Secretary-Treasurer.

This, the smallest organized group of the American IPR, has been faithfully maintaining its informal program of discussions and meetings, and work with teachers. It has also been invited to organize a study group, using an agenda similar to that in use in the New York Study Group.

In February 1949, Mr. Lane visited Pullman, Washington, and Moscow, Idaho, where he addressed students and faculty members and discussed Inland Empire Branch and national IPR plans.

#### COOPERATION WITH THE INTERNATIONAL SECRETARIAT

Although mentioned elsewhere in this report, the importance of the constant cooperation received from the International Secretariat of the IPR warrants special emphasis. For some months the editor of PACIFIC AFFAIRS, Mr. Lilienthal, acted as editor of the FAR EASTERN SURVEY. Similarly, during the period when Mr. Carter was in Asia, first on an assignment with the UN's Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East, and then as the IPR's representative, Mr. J. L. Holland, the Secretary-General, undertook executive responsibility for the American IPR. Throughout the year Miss Mary F. Healy has handled publication arrangements on behalf of the American IPR as well as for the Secretariat and has directed the two libraries. The American IPR was able to relieve the Secretariat of library responsibility at the end of 1948, and during the course of the year assumed a larger share of the publication costs than had been provided for in the minimum budget. As soon as possible, however, it desires to resume full charge of its publication work. Meanwhile, for these and for countless other instances of the Secretariat's constructive assistance, the American IPR here records its appreciation.

#### MEMBERSHIP

When the San Francisco Bay Region Division was discontinued in 1947, much of the American IPR membership, its library, and its local activities were merged in a newly created World Affairs Council of Northern California. The nation-wide membership of the American IPR was thus reduced. A considerable proportion of the California members naturally preferred to take out membership in the new Council. Many retained, nevertheless, subscriptions to the SURVEY or to PACIFIC AFFAIRS, while dropping their membership in the American IPR.

In May 1948, in view of the fact that the general cost of living had increased to more than 160% of the level at the time when membership dues had last been set, the Executive Committee raised membership rates by 50%. This increase was in line with the practice of many other organizations, and in fact did not fully compensate for increased costs. The decision was reached very reluctantly but it was unavoidable.

The Executive Committee expected some decrease in membership as a result. It is encouraging to report, therefore, that while California membership decreased, the number of members contributing directly to the National

Office in 1948 was almost exactly the same as in 1947. Reinstatements of members who had been dropped and later renewed their contributions increased. Despite the fact that there was no promotion or membership secretary in 1948, new members continue to be enrolled, although not so rapidly as is desirable. At the end of December, memberships totalled nearly 1800. Subscriptions to the FAR EASTERN SURVEY have increased slightly during the year, as have non-member subscriptions to PACIFIC AFFAIRS -- an indication that those who cannot afford membership dues often continue their IPR connection by changing over to subscriptions.

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#### MEMBERSHIP SERVICES

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These continue substantially unchanged, as described in NEWS OF THE IPR for May 1948. During the year, two issues of NEWS were distributed, the second including a report from Mr. Carter on his trip to the Far East. In partial replacement of the pamphlets to which Contributing Members used to be entitled, all members in this category received in October 1948 a paper bound edition of the American IPR's book by Edwin W. Martin, THE ALLIED OCCUPATION OF JAPAN.

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#### THE FAR EAST DIGEST

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Members are already familiar with the FAR EASTERN SURVEY and PACIFIC AFFAIRS, but many may not know of a new periodical - THE FAR EAST DIGEST - issued in mimeographed form by the International Secretariat.

It contains summaries of recent articles on Far Eastern questions appearing in British, Chinese, Canadian, American and other journals. Twelve numbers are issued yearly; the subscription is \$2.50 per year.

This periodical was first started as a service to the National Councils, particularly those whose libraries had suffered during the war and which because of currency restrictions, could not subscribe to all the periodicals they needed. Its success, both abroad and in the United States, has both pleased and surprised the Secretariat. The American IPR takes this opportunity to recommend the DIGEST to the attention of its members.

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#### FINANCES

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Beginning 1948 with loans outstanding, and in the knowledge that the two foundation grants which form the backbone of its budget were to decrease in the next two years, the American IPR nevertheless was able to end the year with all debts paid and with a substantial carryover.

There follows a summarized financial statement for the year:

## SUMMARY STATEMENT OF RECEIPTS &amp; EXPENDITURES

January - December 1948

Cash Balance, January 1, 1948	\$ 9,892.35
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Receipts

Foundations	\$43,000.00
Memberships	37,670.70
Special Grants	4,000.00
Sales of Publications	10,603.39
Royalties	972.52
Research Fund - Special Projects	<u>3,668.00</u>
	92,914.61
	<u>\$109,306.96</u>

Disbursements

Administration	39,380.81
Grant to Pacific Council	9,000.00
Research	1,577.07
Local Meetings and Study Groups	205.92
Library Services	1,163.72
Services to Members	4,763.87
Washington Office	1,920.66
Far Eastern Survey	17,932.45
Publications	3,373.63
Promotion	1,607.97
Research - Special Projects	<u>3,695.50</u>
	84,621.66

Cash Balance, December 31, 1948	<u>25,185.30</u>
	<u>\$109,306.96</u>

The American IPR is, of course, faced with a formidable budget problem. Contributions are being sought from companies and individuals, but it must be admitted that they are not being received in adequate amount. It is therefore necessary to proceed very economically and to explore every possible source of income. Programs must meanwhile be adapted to means, but substantial plans for research, publication and conference are in effect or under discussion.

## NATIONAL OFFICERS AND TRUSTEES

At the Annual Meeting of Members held on February 15, 1949, and at the Annual Meeting of the Board, held on March 15, 1949, the following Officers and Trustees were elected:

## OFFICERS

Chairman	= Ray Lyman Wilbur
Vice-Chairmen	= Raymond B. Allen
	= Arthur H. Dean
	= Walter F. Dillingham
	= Robert Gordon Sproul
Treasurer	= Donald R. Straus
Executive Secretary	= Clayton Lane
Assistant Treasurer	= Tillie G. Shahn
Assistant Secretary	= Katrine R. C. Greene

## BOARD OF TRUSTEES

Edward W. Allen	= Attorney: Allen, Froude, Hilen & DeGarmo, Seattle.
*Raymond B. Allen	= President, University of Washington, Seattle.
J. Ballard Atherton	= Vice-President, Mutual Telephone Company, Honolulu.
Joseph W. Ballantine	= The Brookings Institution, Washington D.C.
Edward W. Beltz	= Geologist, Standard-Vacuum Oil Company, New York.
Knight Biggerstaff	= Chairman, Department of Far Eastern Studies, Cornell University.
*Hugh Borton	= East Asian Institute, Columbia University, New York.
Stuart P. Brock	= Department of Research and Education, Congress of Industrial Organizations, Washington D.C.
H. Clifford Brown	= Vice-President, Chicago Bridge & Iron Co., New York.
*Lincoln C. Prownell	= Assistant to the President, American Bank Note Company, New York.
George T. Cameron	= Publisher, San Francisco Chronicle.
*Edward C. Carter	= Prevost, New School for Social Research, New York.
Joseph P. Chamberlain	= Professor of Public Law, Columbia University, New York.
Dwight L. Clarke	= President, Occidental Life Insurance Company of California, Los Angeles.
Chas. F. Clise	= President, Washington Securities Company, Seattle.
Arthur G. Coons	= President, Occidental College, Los Angeles.
George B. Cressey	= Chairman, Department of Geography, Syracuse University.
*Arthur H. Dean	= Partner: Sullivan & Cromwell, New York
*Walter F. Dillingham	= President, Oahu Railway & Land Company, Honolulu.
Brooks Eddy	= President, Foreign Policy Association, New York.
Rupert Emerson	= Professor of Government, Harvard University.
John K. Fairbank	= Professor of History, Harvard University.
G. W. Fisher	= Executive Vice-President, Bishop Trust Company, Ltd., Honolulu.
Richard E. Fuller	= Director, Seattle Art Museum.

- Charles K. Gamble - Director, Standard-Vacuum Oil Company, New York.  
 Martha A. Gerbode - Trustee, World Affairs Council of Northern California, San Francisco.
- L. Carrington Goodrich - Department of Chinese and Japanese, Columbia University, New York.
- O. C. Hansen - Frazer & Hansen Import-Export Company, San Francisco.
- \*V. R. Herod - President, International General Electric Company, New York.
- John R. Hersey - Author: "Men on Bataan"; "Into the Valley"; "Bell for Adano"; "Hiroshima".
- William L. Holland - Secretary General, Institute of Pacific Relations.
- Raymond Kennedy - Professor of Sociology, Yale University, New Haven.
- Benjamin H. Kizer - Attorney: Graves, Kizer & Graves, Spokane.
- Daniel E. Koshland - Vice-President, Levi Strauss & Co., San Francisco.
- \*Clayton Lane - Executive Secretary, American I.P.R., New York.
- \*Lewis A. Lapham - President, American Hawaiian Steamship Company.
- Owen Lattimore - Director, Walter Hines Page School of International Relations, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore.
- Herbert S. Little - Attorney: Little, Leader, LeSourd & Palmer, Seattle.
- \*William T. Lockwood - Assistant Director, Woodrow Wilson School of Public and International Affairs, Princeton University.
- Boyd A. Martin - Professor of Political Science, University of Idaho, Moscow, Idaho.
- Charles E. Martin - Professor of Political Science, University of Washington, Seattle.
- Rene A. May - President, Getz Brothers, Exporters, San Francisco.
- Frank E. Midkiff - Trustee: Bernice P. Bishop Estate, Kamehameha Schools, and Punahoa School, Honolulu.
- Donald M. Nelson - Electronized Chemical Corporation, Los Angeles.
- Emmet O'Neal - Attorney, Washington D.C. U.S. Ambassador to the Philippines.
- David N. Rowe - Associate Professor of International Relations, Yale University, New Haven.
- James H. Shoemaker - Chairman, Department of Economics and Business, University of Hawaii, Honolulu.
- Gregg M. Sinclair - President, University of Hawaii, Honolulu.
- Robert Gordon Sproul - President, University of California.
- \*Donald B. Straus - Management-Employee Relations, Inc., New York.
- George E. Taylor - Director, Far Eastern Institute, University of Washington, Seattle.
- Donald G. Tewksbury - Professor of Comparative Education, Teachers College, Columbia University, New York.
- Sumner Welles - Writer and commentator. Former Under Secretary of State.
- Lynn T. White, jr. - President, Mills College, Oakland, California.
- Prayton Wilbur - President, Wilbur-Ellis Company, San Francisco.
- \*Ray Lyman Wilbur - Chancellor, Stanford University, California.
- Heaton L. Wrenn - Attorney: Anderson, Wrenn & Jenks, Honolulu.
- Louise L. Wright - Director, Chicago Council on Foreign Relations.

\* Member, Executive Committee, American I.P.R.

# Far Eastern Survey

AMERICAN INSTITUTE OF PACIFIC RELATIONS

## THE OUTLOOK FOR ECAFE

BY E. E. WARD

**EDITORIAL NOTE:** *The work of the United Nations Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East (ECAFE), which has received little attention in the American press, gains significance in the light of President Truman's recent proposals for promoting economic progress in undeveloped areas. ECAFE's Committee of the Whole opened its meeting in Bangkok on March 28. The following article by an Australian economist summarizes the results of the Commission's fourth session last December and the problems before the Bangkok meeting. Foremost among these is the question whether ECAFE can now advance from the stage of investigating problems to that of acting on them. The answer, Mr. Ward believes, may depend to a considerable extent on the attitude of Western countries—particularly the United States.*

THE FIRST THREE SESSIONS of the Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East took place in Shanghai, the Philippines (Baguio), and India (Ootacamund). For its fourth session, from November 29 to December 11, 1948, the Commission went to Australia, which occupies a somewhat unique position as a non-Asian member nation with a close geographic relationship to the Asian region. At the end of this fourth meeting ECAFE found itself at a decisive point in its existence, faced with questions which will determine its future activity in fields outside the scope of other specialized international agencies.

Industrial development figures prominently in the plans of most ECAFE countries. The region is predominantly agricultural; its existing industries are restricted in range and small in relation to population. Often they do not go beyond the preliminary processing of crops

or metallic ores for export. Industrial employment is needed as an alternative to a relatively inefficient agriculture in order to raise living standards; and the growth of industry offers an escape from too great dependence on a few staple raw material exports.

It is not easy, at this stage, to assess the industrial possibilities of Asia. More extensive surveys must be made of natural resources. There is much to be learned concerning the aptitude of Asian populations for the managerial and entrepreneurial skills and disciplines required in an industrial society. Predictions would be idle, especially in view of the rapidity with which Japan acquired the capacity for large-scale industrial and commercial enterprise; yet it does appear that Asia has not been so well endowed, in mineral resources at least, as the present great industrial regions of the world. The notable exceptions are the coal reserves in China and iron ore in India. It is also clear, however, that even

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### THE OUTLOOK FOR ECAFE

by E. E. Ward

An international agency seeks ways of implementing its program for industry, trade, and agriculture.

### UNITED STATES RULE IN KOREA

by Channing Liem

A moderate Korean view of American achievements and failures during the brief occupation of that country.

### THE CONSTITUTION OF CEYLON

by E. Burke Inlow

The basis and structure of a new British Dominion.

within these apparent limitations there is scope for the development of industries to meet at least domestic requirements. This is putting the matter in its most conservative light.

### Discussions on Industrial Development

ECAFE has devoted considerable attention to the problems of industrial development. A Working Party, appointed after the second session, has produced some comprehensive and valuable reports which reveal the effects of wartime damage and deterioration to mining and industrial plant and to transportation of all kinds, particularly railways. After reconstruction has been completed, further development of the basic industries and transport is necessary in order to support an extension of manufacturing industries. overshadowing this outlook, however, is the need for capital goods and basic materials, which are not locally available in anything near adequate quantities. Two immediate problems arise: (a) the availability of capital goods and basic materials from outside the region, and (b) the means to pay for them.

At the third session of the Commission, in June 1948, the Indian delegate pointed out that finance was not necessarily the chief problem in obtaining capital goods. He alleged a tendency on the part of the producing countries, particularly the United States, to favor Europe's needs at the expense of Asia's. He urged that the Commission endeavor to obtain concrete proposals of help in this matter from the highly-industrialized countries. The Commission finally adopted a resolution which, *inter alia*, appealed to the latter countries to make available to Asia "an adequate share of their production of capital goods and basic materials."

Both the United States and the United Kingdom submitted replies to this appeal at the fourth session. The United States pointed out that considerable American assistance had been given to undeveloped areas since the war, and explained that existing controls over exports were purely for security or for the protection of the domestic economy. The United Kingdom pointed to an actual increase over prewar levels in her own exports of capital goods to Asia and the Far East, in spite of heavy demands at home and the needs of other areas.

The report of the Working Party estimated that the cost of the five-year reconstruction plans in ECAFE countries would amount to approximately US\$13.6 billion. Of this amount, about \$6.4 billion represented the cost of locally available materials and services and \$7.2 billion the foreign exchange requirements. Some of the members of the Commission hoped that these estimates might provide the starting point for an "Asian Recovery Program." The Indian delegate, for example, recalled again at the fourth session the shortage of capital

goods and basic materials, particularly from hard-currency areas. In Europe this problem had been solved by ERP, and he believed that something similar was needed for Asia.

The United States delegate, however, told the Commission in unequivocal terms that his government did not favor blanket assistance for reconstruction and development programs such as those before the Commission. His government wished to see American capital contribute to an expansion of production and trade in Asia and the Far East, but believed that such capital should be supplied primarily by private investors. The ECAFE countries should, therefore, endeavor to establish conditions which would encourage private foreign investment. If capital could not be obtained on reasonable terms from private sources, the ECAFE countries should endeavor to obtain funds from such agencies as the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development or the United States Export-Import Bank on the basis of specific projects directly related to an increase in production and trade.

One sees, therefore, no prospect of large-scale financial assistance through the agency of ECAFE for the economic reconstruction of the region. The matter now rests with individual countries to deal separately with private investors, international investment agencies, or governments. This situation has produced a shrinkage in the possible sphere of the Commission's activities, a matter which will be discussed in a later section of this article.

The Commission decided to refer the question of further action on industrial development in Asia to a Committee of the Whole, scheduled to meet in Bangkok toward the end of March 1949. This decision gave individual governments time to make a careful study of the reports prepared thus far.

### International Trade and Finance

The discussion of international trade and finance was guided by a report prepared by the Secretariat, in collaboration with experts nominated by governments and specialized agencies, the main purpose of which was to study the desirability of special financial arrangements to facilitate the trade of ECAFE countries. The report made a brief survey of the principal features of this trade, and drew attention to the almost universal condition of visible trade deficits, in contrast to the pre-war situation when visible trade surpluses were the rule (although offset by invisible items such as interest payments to countries outside the region). Low export production is, of course, the basic cause of the balance of payments difficulties.

Discussion turned mainly on whether a multilateral clearing system for the ECAFE region might remove financial impediments or otherwise increase trade. This

subject has not been a particularly profitable one, mainly because of the divergence between economics and geography in the region. There is sometimes a tendency to see virtue in an arrangement just because it is on a regional or geographic basis; the ECAFE region, in spite of geography, is not at present a complementary economic unit, and the basic trade relationships are between the ECAFE countries and countries outside the region. World currencies, particularly dollars and sterling, are most useful to hold and to trade in since they will buy the goods which the ECAFE countries need. As the economy of the region becomes more developed, regional currency arrangements may acquire substance.

The Commission finally decided to ask the International Monetary Fund "to undertake a study of balance of payments, trade movements, etc., in the region and advise, in the light of such study and of similar studies undertaken in other regions, whether and to what extent the establishment of a multilateral clearing system for the ECAFE region might be expected to remove any financial or payments impediments to trade within the region or otherwise increase trade."

Some debate centered on a proposal for the establishment of a permanent inter-governmental committee on trade similar to that proposed for industry. There was difficulty, however, in defining the functions of such a committee, and once again the proposal was referred to the Committee of the Whole set up to consider the Industrial Working Party's report.

### The Question of Trade with Japan

The question of trade between ECAFE countries and Japan figured prominently in the discussions at the third session of the Commission. The representative from SCAP pointed out that Japan's manufacturing capacity for capital goods was still appreciable, within the limits set by the Far Eastern Commission. At this session there was fairly general agreement that the ECAFE countries should avail themselves of Japan's ability to meet some of their urgent needs, especially in exchange for raw materials which the ECAFE countries could supply, provided no action taken by ECAFE usurped the functions of the Far Eastern Commission. No special machinery was set up, however, and the Commission simply recommended to the governments of the region that they explore the possibilities of entering into working arrangements with Japan for the supply of capital goods, materials, and consumer goods.

The fourth session raised no new questions of principle on this point, and the Commission again recommended that individual governments continue along these lines. It was recognized, of course, that other aspects of the Commission's work, such as the investigations of financial impediments to trade and trade promotion, also bore on the question of the extension of trade

with Japan. The only sharp disagreement in principle was raised by the Soviet delegate, who proposed that the whole question of Japan be removed from the agenda as being outside the scope of the Commission.

### Cooperation with FAO

ECAFE's role in the agricultural problems of the Far East has been fairly well established as one of close cooperation with the Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO). This is a logical arrangement, since food supply is a world problem rather than simply a regional one. Significant developments in one part of the world immediately affect the situation in other parts. FAO is charged with world-wide responsibility for agriculture. ECAFE has asked FAO to report periodically on food and agriculture conditions in Asia and the Far East, and a joint FAO-ECAFE Working Party on Agricultural Requisites was set up at the third session. ECAFE's function is to bring specifically regional problems to the attention of FAO.

Everything points to the supreme importance of an increase in food production for the recovery and development of the region. Food production in the ECAFE region is still below prewar levels, and at the same time there has been a ten percent increase in population. The region is now a net importer of food in spite of the fact that most of the huge population is engaged in agriculture. For countries such as Burma, Siam, and Indochina, where rice is the principal export, higher production would mean greater capacity to pay for imports needed for reconstruction and development. For food importing countries such as India, Ceylon, Malaya, and China, high prices are a major cause of foreign exchange difficulties; increased production and lower prices would release a larger proportion of their export incomes for the purchase of needed imports. An inadequate food supply is also a potent cause of inflation, one of the major problems of the region at present, through the constant pressure for higher money incomes to meet scarcity prices. The importance of food production sometimes tends to be obscured by more spectacular plans for industrial development, but the first is essential to the second.

A striking feature of the report of the Working Party on Agricultural Requisites is the relatively small needs of ECAFE countries for these items in comparison with world production. For example, it is stated that the region requires only eleven percent of world production of chemical nitrogen fertilizer, 0.3 percent of tractors, and two percent of pesticides. These quantities seem minuscule when one considers that the region contains more than half of the world's population.

The Commission approved the existing principles of cooperation with FAO at the staff level and recommended that FAO urge the agricultural needs of the

region on those countries which produce agricultural requisites. It also recommended that ECAFE countries undertake studies to "determine to what extent present agricultural practices are an obstacle to the adoption of new techniques and the effective use of fertilizers, pesticides, veterinary supplies, agricultural machines, and improved seeds."

Agricultural improvement is one of the most urgent but also one of the most complex of Asia's problems. Agricultural practices in Asia are based on habit, tradition, and social and cultural patterns which have been handed down for centuries. Even in the newer Western countries, as agricultural officers will testify, a considerable amount of persuasion and demonstration is necessary to induce farmers to accept innovations. Improvement in the East is basic to economic progress since agriculture must remain for a long time to come the principal occupation for the majority of the population. Higher agricultural efficiency would also release large numbers of year-round workers for large-scale industrial projects. The Commission is therefore performing a useful function in turning attention to this basic problem.

### Plans for Technical Training

The underdeveloped countries of the world suffer from an acute shortage of trained personnel of all kinds. Those countries which have recently attained political independence find the lack of trained administrators a serious handicap in their efforts to establish efficient government, while plans for agricultural improvement and industrial development require a large supply of specialists who cannot be trained overnight. The importance of a heritage of scientific, technical, and administrative skill, taken for granted in the West, is demonstrated by the effects of its absence in the East.

ECAFE has devoted considerable attention to the problems of technical training, and a Technical Training Section was set up within the Secretariat at the third session. As with agriculture, however, ECAFE has not undertaken primary responsibility for this work, but has established a close liaison at the staff level with the International Labor Organization (ILO). At the fourth session the observer from the ILO informed the Commission that his organization had in hand three measures of direct concern to Asia and the Far East. These were: (a) the appointment of a manpower committee for Asia; (b) the establishment of a Field Office for Asia; and (c) the convening of a technical conference on training. The Commission took note of the ILO's plans and requested the Executive Secretary to consult with the Director-General of the ILO for the purpose of establishing the closest possible cooperation between the two bodies. The Executive Secretary was also asked to prepare a report on fields of economic development

which were handicapped by the widespread lack of trained personnel.

The Commission recommended at its third session that a Bureau of Flood Control be established for Asia and the Far East as a subsidiary body of the Commission. The Economic and Social Council approved the proposal but asked the Commission to define more explicitly the relationship of the Bureau to the Commission and its functions. ECAFE recommended that the Secretary-General appoint a Chief of Bureau and two expert assistants and that "the Bureau should form part of the Secretariat of ECAFE for all administrative and financial matters, but that the Chief of Bureau should enjoy the necessary autonomy on all technical matters subject to the decisions of the Commission." The program of work for 1949 was to be left to the Bureau Chief, although priority should be given to the needs of those parts of the ECAFE region which were the principal sufferers from uncontrolled floods. The location of the Bureau was to be fixed by the Executive Secretary in consultation with the Chief of Bureau. The Bureau is essentially a technical organization; its function will be to coordinate the work of national bodies in this field and in general to assist member governments to overcome one of the great natural problems of the Far Eastern region.

The basis of ECAFE's work is in the field of inter-governmental action: that is, to assist individual member countries by the cooperative efforts of all. The most fruitful field of potential cooperation at present clearly lies between the countries of the region and the highly industrialized countries of the West. These two groups complement each other economically. The Asian countries themselves do not form an integrated economic unit, so that the scope for cooperative effort within the region is limited. (This concept, of course, excludes Japan, which is not an ECAFE country and which in any case is itself receiving a considerable amount of American aid.) Assistance from the Western industrial countries remains primarily a matter for individual negotiation by the ECAFE countries.

### ECAFE's Problem

These limitations are reflected in the nature of many of the recommendations contained in reports prepared by the Secretariat and Working Parties. Governments are urged, for example, to increase coal production and to stop inflation—matters primarily of national concern which do not call for further action by ECAFE as such. On the surface, therefore, ECAFE's role appears similar to that of the Economic Commission for Europe, but in practice its scope is much more limited because of the above-mentioned characteristics of the region with which it deals.

During the last two sessions there has been an under-

standable impatience on the part of some delegates with protracted investigations which lead only to further investigations.<sup>1</sup> There is a desire for practical proposals. Accordingly, the Executive Secretary placed before the Commission a proposal that a series of representative inter-governmental committees should be established, similar to the organization evolved by the Economic Commission for Europe; their essential function would be the implementation of policy, as distinct from expert bodies whose functions are mainly research and investigation. The proposed new organization was designed to carry the Commission from the stage of investigation to that of implementation.

Few if any of the governments represented, however,

had had time to study the voluminous reports on substantial matters before the Commission, particularly those on industrial development. The Commission could not, therefore, arrive at any clear definition of the functions such committees might perform. It was decided that the whole question should be referred to the Committee of the Whole meeting in Bangkok.

The essential task now facing the Commission is to determine what forms of inter-governmental activity are possible and profitable in the fields within its competence. The importance of ECAFE's role as it is shaped in further discussions can be gauged by the growing importance of underdeveloped areas to the world's economy.

## UNITED STATES RULE IN KOREA

BY CHANNING LIEM

*EDITORIAL NOTE: Unlike the occupation of Japan, American military government in South Korea was regarded from the start as a short-term caretaker job, for which few special preparations were made, nor were policies formulated in advance. The following article by Dr. Liem, Secretary of the American Foundation for Korean Education and former Instructor in Politics at Princeton University, discusses the results of the occupation as they appear to Koreans of moderate or middle-of-the-road views. The author is naturally primarily concerned with the net effect of the occupation on the country rather than with the difficulties which confronted military government personnel.*

ONE OF THE STRANGEST EPISODES following World War II was the United States occupation of South Korea, which began on September 8, 1945, and officially ended on August 15, 1948. An objective appraisal of its record may prove a helpful guide in future American relations with Korea and, indeed, with the Far East as a whole.

The writer was in Korea from February to October 1948. During this time he interviewed thousands of Koreans from all walks of life and hundreds of Amer-

icans serving in the military government; he also examined the writings of most of the Korean publicists. Of all these, not one appeared satisfied with the results of United States rule. A great majority considered the occupation a failure. Only a few, all of whom were members of the military government staff, said that the United States had done "as good a job as possible under the circumstances."

This is not to say that most Koreans denied due credit to the American authorities. They cited a number of important achievements of United States rule, and most of them were convinced that the principal attitude of the occupation command was one of sincerity and good will toward the Korean people. They did not hesitate, however, to point out American failures which, they feared, might not only outweigh the successes but perhaps bring Korea to its ultimate destruction. This article will enumerate some of the achievements and failures as most Koreans see them, together with their causes and possible remedies.

First among the positive results was the prevention of mass starvation in the United States zone. Reduced yields in the rich southern rice lands, due to inadequate care and a shortage of fertilizers, combined with the great influx of repatriates from abroad, presented a

1. One of the questions which took up most time and raised most controversy during the second and third sessions was an issue not of substance but of membership—namely, the question of associate membership for Indonesia. Two applications were before the Commission, one presented by the Netherlands on behalf of the whole of Indonesia (the Netherlands East Indies) and the other submitted directly by the Republic of Indonesia for separate representation. The point at issue was whether or not the Republic was responsible for its own international relations. After considerable debate the Commission postponed

decision at both the second and third sessions, and the question recurred automatically at the fourth. The Commission finally adopted a New Zealand resolution to the effect that both the Republic and the "rest of Indonesia" should be admitted as associate members, as a practical arrangement by which the whole territory of Indonesia might be represented. This decision was not acceptable to the Netherlands delegation, who withdrew from the session, thereby preventing the Commission's decision from having effect so far as the "rest of Indonesia" is concerned. The Republic remains an associate member.

severe food problem. But there has been no starvation due to governmental neglect, and the average diet in South Korea since liberation, although inadequate by scientific standards, is reported to be higher than that under Japanese rule.

Secondly, a notable improvement has been effected in the field of public health and welfare. Statistical reports early in 1948 showed marked downward trends in the incidence of communicable diseases and in the infant mortality rate. The military government succeeded in training a number of public health and welfare specialists, and initiated a comprehensive program further to improve services in this field.

Thirdly, progress has been made in public education. Under Japanese rule only a small percentage of Korean children were able to attend public schools. A system of free and universal education up to the sixth grade has been adopted, and a number of middle schools and so-called universities have appeared in the United States zone during the past three years. Vocational education is making rapid strides. There is now in operation a systematic program of public school financing, administration, and instruction modelled after that of the United States.

Fourthly, American rule greatly improved the status of women in Korea. Korean women now participate in almost every department of public and social activity. Their outlook seems to be progressive, and they are alert to the needs of their country. Last year they succeeded in forcing public prostitution out of business. At present they are working to enforce the spirit as well as the letter of the monogamy law.

### Creation of a Separate Government

Another achievement which merits comment is the establishment of a Korean government in the American zone. There was sharp division of opinion among Koreans concerning the wisdom of this move. The writer's inquiries lead him to believe that when the United States first recommended to the United Nations the holding of an election under the supervision of neutral observers, the majority of Koreans were opposed to it. Some were undoubtedly motivated by Communistic affiliations, but most of them by a patriotic concern for the welfare of their nation, being convinced that an election at that time would bring about the permanent division of Korea. The United States was equally convinced that an agreement with the Soviet Union was impossible, and that a continuation of its military government was inadvisable. It therefore chose the unpleasant task of insisting on the election.

American representatives in Korea were forced into the embarrassing position of supporting those Korean rightists who had agitated for a separate government while the United States was striving to set

up a unified one. For such rightists the only hope of political power lay in a separate regime. The decision to hold an election seemed to vindicate their position. On election day, indeed, only a small minority of Koreans defied the United States. Some of these were Communists, and others were leaders of moderate political parties who chose to sacrifice their political fortunes for their belief that the election was a serious mistake.

Whether or not it was a mistake to create the present separate government in Seoul will depend upon the ultimate satisfaction of those Koreans who voted in the belief that they were thus helping to unify the country. Those who remain optimistic about the government's success point out the fact that ninety percent of the qualified voters in the zone cast ballots. Others contend that this participation was due to active United States support for the elections and to the vested powers of the rightists. Most Koreans believe, however, that their present government is incapable of accomplishing the unification of Korea; and they still look to the United States to aid in this achievement.

### The Debit Side

To turn to the debit side of the American record: in the view of most Koreans, the grave failures of the occupation are not the result of any willful neglect on the part of occupation authorities. It is pointed out that the Soviet failure to cooperate and the obstructionist tactics of the extreme rightists and leftists in Korea were major stumbling-blocks. Koreans feel, nevertheless, that the best efforts of the American authorities could have solved many problems, and that Korea as a liberated country was entitled to no less than the best.

The bisection of their country was, to most Koreans, the gravest error. The disastrous effect of division on the people of Korea can never be fully told. No foreign economic aid to either zone can take the place of economic unification. All available information shows that the northern zone has received no aid from the Soviet Union and none is in prospect. The southern zone has received American relief supplies worth about \$350 million during the past three years, but these supplies proved to be only a partial and temporary solution. Although there is a crying need for consumer goods of every description, industry in South Korea is dormant. Existing factories do not operate at capacity and no new ones worth mentioning have been established. Trade is in no better condition. Except for goods imported from the United States, which turn up in shady ways, and a few second-hand Korean articles offered for cash by hard-pressed people, the shops are practically bare.

The division of the country has had a psychological effect of gloom and despair among Koreans. Business

and industrial leaders have in many instances retired to their secluded homes; crowds of the unemployed wander about the streets; ill-clad laborers squat helplessly on the sidewalks. The writer visited several "refugee" camps near Seoul which were crowded with poorly-clothed, ill-fed, and spiritless people, most of whom had come from the northern zone in the expectation that anywhere else would be better. They were rudely disillusioned.

Koreans charge that a sound and consistent plan could have rehabilitated business and industry to some extent in spite of the critical blow dealt by the north-south division. They cite the low salary rate of Korean government employees and the rationing system for consumer goods as typical failures of the military government. Pressed by huge deficits, the authorities chose the easy but negative measure of limiting the salary scale so severely that no official could live on his legitimate income, but was forced instead to sell his property or turn to corrupt practices. Most officials sold the relief supplies given them periodically by the occupation authorities—in some cases to make this aid continue, in others to gain a profit. The result was further inflation.

Concerning rationing, the authorities either failed to set up an adequate control program or did not implement it fully. The program left scarce industrial consumer goods to the mercy of profiteers and concentrated solely on grain, which was relatively abundant and thus formed the greatest source of governmental revenue. Korean farmers considered this an injustice, and their feeling gave a wide base to the unpopularity of the military government. Faced with inflationary prices for the articles they needed, and yet compelled to turn in their hard-won harvests, the farmers could not or would not produce as much as they should. Again the result was a greater governmental deficit and heightened inflation.

### Choice of Administrators

The military government also failed to enlist the services of competent and respected Koreans. So far as democratic self-government was concerned, Korea had no experienced administrators; her paramount need was training. Had the occupation authorities chosen and trained candidates from among men of unquestionable loyalty both to Korea and to democracy, this failure might have been avoided. They fell instead into the convenient practice of recalling many of the former enemy collaborators on the ground that they had had "experience" and knew their jobs. Certain positions of a purely technical nature might admittedly be filled by qualified men no matter whom they had previously served; but the occupation committed an error of excess in this respect. The Police Department, the only department to which the American command

delegated complete authority, was notorious for the fact that it was manned by Koreans who had served under the Japanese. Its nominal chiefs had no collaboration records, but they were new to their duties and received no training. They therefore reinstated the former personnel of the department, men whose experience had been of a tyrannical kind. These ex-collaborators, mere servants under the Japanese, now became masters; the Americans let them run the whole show. The police promised to wipe out the Communists in South Korea. More important, however, was the promise they seem to have made to themselves—namely, to extort money from their helpless fellow-citizens. In many instances their witch-hunting was a convenient means to this end.

Korean police activities became a nightmare to the people. The writer is reliably informed that the recent army revolt in South Korea was caused at least as much by police unpopularity as by Communists. The sons and brothers of many Koreans who had been mistreated by the police enlisted in the South Korean army, determined to be revenged upon the "traitors."

### The Youth Associations

United States rule brought further terror upon the country through its tolerance of the formation of the so-called "Youth Associations," which were exploited by rightist political groups. There were about six of these associations in South Korea by the summer of 1948. Their rules and practices resembled those of similar organizations in dictatorial nations. While the writer was conferring with United States army officers in Seoul on March 1 (Korea's Fourth of July) he saw a parade of these "youths," chanting and carrying huge banners. They were denouncing everyone except their own leaders, opposing the American military government as well as the Communists. When the writer told a high-ranking American officer what the slogans meant, the officer was evidently shocked.

Many Korean boys, tempted by these associations, deserted their classes, farms, and factories to become social parasites. Such a movement does immeasurable damage to the future building of Korea. When the boys found politicians' hand-outs insufficient, they turned to gangsterism. And when the military government, relenting a little, prohibited the solicitation of "compulsory contributions," the Youth Associations began peddling the portraits of their leaders and similar articles. Few people dared refuse to purchase them. Those who were generous were "patriotic Koreans;" those who refused were "Communists."

Even from the standpoint of the national interest of the United States, its occupation of Korea has been a failure. It is obliged to continue pouring money into the country. Present circumstances make it uncertain

whether even the allotted sum of \$300 million for the next three years will bring about the desired result. The Koreans who helped elect the present government in Seoul have no confidence in it. A leading Korean conservative who declined invitations to participate in that regime told the writer that, if another election were held in South Korea now, less than thirty percent of those who voted for the present government would vote for it again. It seems significant that, according to a *New York Times* dispatch, the Korean National Assembly ratified the agreement for \$300 million in Marshall Plan aid by a vote of eighty-five to nothing, with forty-five absents. Only 130 out of 198 legislators were present to consider the agreement. Apparently no member of the Assembly was opposed to the aid itself—Korea can scarcely survive without it—but in the writer's opinion the vote meant that Koreans consider their government incapable of administering the fund for the benefit of the people.

American representatives in Korea are aware that it is only the presence of American soldiers and money which keeps the present regime in power. They must now realize that their attempts to contain Communism on the Korean front will meet with results like those of China and Greece unless the Korean government is improved by replacements from among the men in whom the people have confidence. And such action must come soon.

### Reasons for American Failure

Several factors seem to underly the American failure in Korea. The first is American ignorance of Korea's strategic importance in the international politics of the Far East until the United States Army was sent there in 1945. Its size and its long history of domination by Japan proved deceptive. Korea was accorded a few words in the Cairo Declaration (to the effect that "Korea shall become free and independent in due course") but there is no indication that the United States formulated any program for the implementation of that policy.

This habit of underestimation remained unchanged throughout the three years of the American occupation. The high command decided against any long-range plans either for the Koreans or for the occupation personnel because it would be "only a matter of months—six months, perhaps—before the Army forces are withdrawn." Little thought was given to the comfort of the occupying forces, and Korea was considered the dumping-ground for "incompetents." Koreans resented the manner in which Americans dealt with them; this was largely the direct result of American ignorance of Korean traditions, history, and aspirations.

Koreans also speak of "American obstinacy." Occupation officials often tried to force their ideas on the

Koreans rather than using intelligent flexibility and diplomacy. In selecting Korean employees, for example, they ignored the tradition of clan solidarity. Many Korean families had maintained or gained their fortunes by designating one or a few of their number to "get along" with the Japanese. Following the liberation these collaborating families replaced their representatives with members who had no active collaboration records. Occupation officials received these new representatives without hesitation. Another example is the American insistence on "experience" rather than "respectability," although Koreans argued that the latter was more important and that men of honor should be given the necessary training.

### U.S. Policy Inconsistent

Paradoxical as it may sound, another reason for failure lay in the uncertainty and inconsistency of United States policy toward Korea. In matters where forcefulness was really required, the Americans became hesitant. In many cases, furthermore, their actions ran counter to their announced intentions. Soon after the arrival of American forces in Korea, the United States gave special facilities for Syngman Rhee's return to Seoul, and the United States commander in Korea personally presented him to the Korean people. The latter move may have been an "error," but the occupation authorities did nothing to correct it. Thereafter ex-collaborators, opportunists, and innocent Koreans alike rallied around "America's man." This scarcely tallied, in the eyes of the Korean critics, with the announced American policy of allowing the Koreans freely to choose their own government.

Later the occupation command inducted a moderate leader, Kimm Kiu-sik, to head the South Korean Interim Legislature. But he was not given due support nor was his advice welcome. The military government cut in half the Assembly budget which Kimm had personally helped to prepare; this made the Assembly's work virtually impossible.

It is a well-known fact that Dr. Rhee, now President of the Korean government in Seoul, became *persona non grata* to the United States Army command soon after his return to Korea. But the military government was already helplessly dependent on his lieutenants.

United States rule in Korea has been a costly and thankless task. Having finally succeeded in creating a Korean government in its zone of occupation, it now wishes to withdraw its forces from that unhappy country. This desire is balanced by the fear that, when it withdraws, the power it has sought to check may take over the whole nation. However this situation is resolved, the United States must learn that on its dealings with Korea depends much of Korea's significant role as a helpful partner for peace or as a source of conflict.

# THE CONSTITUTION OF CEYLON

BY E. BURKE INLOW

THE CEYLON INDEPENDENCE ACT of 1947 removed Ceylon from the status of a colony and provided for the admission of that historic island into the British Commonwealth as a dominion. In point of time, the transition was a brief one. Late in 1944 a commission was appointed by His Majesty's government of the United Kingdom under the chairmanship of Baron Soulbury to visit Ceylon for purposes of examining and discussing proposals for constitutional reform. The commission issued its report the next year.<sup>1</sup> In May 1946 a draft constitution was presented to the Court at Buckingham Palace. The *Ceylon Independence Order in Council*<sup>2</sup> followed in December 1947. February 4 of the following year was celebrated as Ceylon Independence Day, and on that date the new constitution went into effect.<sup>3</sup>

## Power of the Executive

Perhaps the most important single characteristic of the new constitution is the amount of power which rests with the Governor-General. The Governor of Ceylon has, of course, always exercised considerable control over the Island. The constitution of 1931, for example, provided him with actual legislative power.<sup>4</sup> While such power is not anticipated or conveyed under the terms of the present Constitution—the second paragraph of the section devoted to the Governor-General speaks of the "constitutional conventions" which bind that high office—it is still true that the role of Governor-General of Ceylon is more than a nominal one.

The Governor-General is empowered to (1) appoint one-half of the members of the Senate, (2) appoint a delimitation commission which makes divisions of the provinces for purposes of organizing the electorate, (3) appoint the cabinet and the prime minister, (4) appoint all judges, and (5) serve as Commander-in-Chief. In addition to these powers, the Governor-General possesses other less important appointive ones. Under the terms of the Constitution, moreover, no act or omission of the Governor-General may be called into

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1. Report of the Commission on Constitutional Reform of Ceylon, 1945 (Cmnd. 6677).

2. 11 Geo. 6 Ch. 7.

3. For a brief discussion of political and economic conditions before and during the promulgation of the new constitution, see Sydney D. Bailey, "Ceylon's New Status," *Far Eastern Survey*, November 3, 1948.

4. *Constitution of Ceylon* (Cmnd. 3862 of 1931), pp. 89-93.

question before any court of law. There seems to be some question as to whether he actually possesses a veto power over legislation, and the Constitution as it stands makes no attempt to clarify this issue. Future constitutional interpretation may resolve it.

The new Constitution of Ceylon provides for a Parliament consisting, as in the case of its British counterpart, of His Majesty (represented by the Governor-General) and two chambers to be known respectively as the Senate and the House of Representatives. Parliament sits for five years and must meet annually. The privileges, immunities, and powers of the two chambers may be regulated by Parliament but may not exceed those held by the House of Commons in the United Kingdom. The Senate, consisting of thirty Senators, fifteen of whom are elected by the House of Representatives and fifteen appointed by the Governor-General, possesses roughly the same powers as the House of Lords. It may not exercise an absolute veto upon the action of the other house, but may withhold its approval of legislation for two successive sessions of Parliament. Money bills do not need the approval of the Senate to become law.

The House of Representatives consists of 101 members, ninety-five of whom are elected by electors of the several districts. Curiously enough, however, it is provided that when, after a general election, the Governor-General is satisfied that any important interest in the Island is represented inadequately or not at all, he is at liberty to appoint up to six members of the House.

For those accustomed to a constitutional tradition that the legislative body shall be the judge of the qualifications of its own membership, the most disturbing feature of legislative power in Ceylon will undoubtedly be the long list of disabilities. They represent, quite frankly, an effort on the part of those who drafted the Constitution to limit membership in Parliament to "desirable" persons. Undischarged bankrupts or insolvents and persons who, during a period of seven years immediately preceding a term of office, have served a prison sentence of three months or longer are among those held ineligible for membership. Sitting or voting in either chamber when disqualified brings a fine of 500 rupees a day. The electorate is subject to the same qualifications, or perhaps one should say disqualifications, as are the members of Parliament.

There is no doubt, however, that the legislative power in Ceylon, despite certain practical limitations, is designed for self-government. There are no express lim-

itations of any consequence upon the power of Parliament. Indeed, Parliament may amend or repeal by a two-thirds vote any of the provisions of the Order creating the Constitution of Ceylon or of any other Order of His Majesty in Council in its application to the Island—provided such bill receives the royal assent. Again, as in the case of the veto power, there is some question as to what this means in practice.

The Governor-General, as pointed out above, is empowered to appoint all judges for the Island. No qualifications are put forth for holding office under such appointment. A Judicial Service Commission, established under the authority of the Constitution, is appointed by the Governor-General and charged with the "appointment, transfer, dismissal, and disciplinary control of judicial officers." The Constitution makes no provision for establishing jurisdictions or designating the powers of the judiciary.

The latter parts of the Constitution are devoted to problems that are, at least by the standard of other recent constitutions, considered to be of the essence of statute law rather than matters for constitutional consideration. One section provides for the establishment of a Civil Service for Ceylon under the direction of a Public Service Commission appointed by the Governor-General. This Commission, consisting of three persons, holds office for a period of five years—subject to the removal power of the Governor-General. Elaborate provisions are made in the same section for pensions, tenure, and retirement of office holders under the new government. Another section is taken up with problems of public finance. The creation of a consolidated fund under the control of the Minister of Justice is the most important innovation to be noted.

### Position Within the Commonwealth

Actual ties to the British Commonwealth are few if measured in terms of express statement. The most obvious tie, of course, is that which identifies the person of the Governor-General with the person of the King. But this is, after all, a highly theoretical relationship. There is no evidence of control on the part of the United Kingdom. In fact, the Ceylon Independence Act states that "no act of the Parliament of the United Kingdom passed on or after the appointed day shall extend, or be deemed to extend, to Ceylon as part of the law of Ceylon, unless it is expressly declared in that act that Ceylon has requested and consented to the enactment thereof." Section 39 of the Constitution, it is true, stipulates that private stockholders are to be protected in their financial share of the Government of Ceylon by His Majesty's Government of the United Kingdom, but this measure is a reasonable precaution to be placed alongside of similar measures taken in times past, and in no way limits the authority of the Government of Ceylon.

A study of the new Constitution reveals an instrument that draws to a very large extent on practical administrative tradition dating from the early years of the present century. Unlike the American Constitution of 1787, the Japanese Constitution of 1889, or even the Burmese Constitution of two years ago, there appears in the Constitution of Ceylon no attempt to cast the state in the image of a particular body of thought. There is no preamble, no statement anywhere of what the drafters attempted to accomplish. There seems to be no particular devotion even to safeguarding the operative ideals—as Lord Lindsay calls them—of the new Constitution. Provision is made, for example, for the selection of a cabinet; yet no provision determines the basis for this selection, the relationship between the cabinet and the Governor-General, or the powers of the ministry. While it is a reasonable assumption that these matters will work themselves out in the traditional pattern of the politics of Ceylon, there is some question as to whether the domestic policies of a self-governing dominion are best drawn from the traditions of a crown colony.

No bill of rights is contained in the Constitution of Ceylon. This is in notable contrast with the recently proclaimed Constitution of Burma, which not only guarantees the right to work, the right to an education, etc., but contains as well an entire section devoted to the "Rights of Freedom," including the traditional rights of assembly, habeas corpus, and so on. Alexander Hamilton argued under similar circumstances that a constitution itself provides the necessary protection against the abuse of civil liberty. But experience has shown that such is not always the case, particularly where a considerable portion of the populace is apt to be deterred by the intricacies of the judicial process. It is one thing to say, "This is my right." It is quite another to ask, "What is my right?" Whether the people of Ceylon are prepared to meet the unstated challenge of their Constitution remains to be seen.

It is the British position that legislation such as the Statute of Westminster, which provides for the presence of self-governing dominions within the framework of the British Commonwealth of Nations, represents the recognition of constitutional advances already achieved rather than the instrument by which such advances are secured.<sup>5</sup> If one accepts this point of view, then it is manifest that Ceylon has made great progress within the framework of a pattern once imperial, now modified. How far beyond this point it will be possible for the people of Ceylon to move must of necessity rest with a multitude of factors, some of which are at this point difficult to define.

5. For the application of this statement to Ceylon, see *Report of the Special Commission on the Constitution of Ceylon* (Cmd. 3131 of 1928), p. 72.

## BOOKS ON THE PACIFIC AREA

**CHINA: THE LAND AND THE PEOPLE.** By Gerald F. Winfield. New York: William Sloane Associates, in cooperation with the American Institute of Pacific Relations, 1948. 437 pp. \$5.00.

The reading of this book leaves one with the desire to learn how the Chinese Communists would comment on Winfield's specific recommendations for rebuilding China, especially those which run counter to what is publicly known as their land policy. The book should immediately take a foremost place among those which help to clarify the American view of the increasing world problem presented by China today.

The main thesis is that the outcome of present events in China may determine the fate of the human race in the second half of the twentieth century, and the book outlines the chief steps required to resolve the situation successfully. The author's long experience in China as Professor of Zoology in Cheloo University included much firsthand experience with its agriculture-economy, and this makes his outlook almost unique among writers on this country. Consequently one is not surprised that his recommendations for rebuilding the country stem initially from a health-agriculture base-line and proceed to the steps required for the development of low-cost transportation and the extension of education and industry. His training in the biological sciences is reflected in his systematic presentation of the requirements for an expanding agricultural production with its rational industrial consequences. This is seldom encountered when an author's main background is in the social sciences. Also uniquely, his recommendations are made dependent upon control of population growth, the crux of which is to bring about a drop in the birth-rate "at least as great as the drop in the death-rate." Winfield's three proposals to achieve this end should become a premise in all planning for Chinese reconstruction. This over-all recommendation should be of great interest to all barely-surviving, over-populated countries who are actively planning to rebuild themselves. Specific proposals are also discussed for education as the prime mover in the solution of the closely interrelated problems of reconstruction.

The first half of the book provides background material which is aimed at enabling the reader to follow the reasoning for the specific recommendations in Part II. The author tends at times to overemphasize inconsequential details; however, some of the latter make fascinating reading.

The final chapter, "The Challenge of China," would be outstanding if for no other reason than its analysis of the Communist program. The redistribution-of-land issue has been skilfully used to confuse American thinking on China and its Communist Party. Winfield's discussion and conclusions as to this policy are based on the data presented in the chapter in Part I on agriculture. He states that redivision and redistribution of the land are exactly contrary to the rural needs of China, which are to reduce the number of people who depend on agriculture and to hasten the expansion of basic production. The most important of the arguments advanced is quoted from Dr. John Lossing Buck: ". . . the problem of land distribution is not one of equal division of land among all the people, for then no farm [now averaging only 4.18 acres] would have enough land on which to earn a living,

but rather one of developing farms of an economic size for each farm family. . . ."

The book must have been completed before the Communists had gained the paramount position which they hold today. It would be interesting to know to what extent, if any, the radically changed political situation might have altered the author's generalization. It is doubtful, however, whether any of the specific conclusions and recommendations would have been changed. If anything, the altered political situation increases the timeliness of this important contribution to an understanding both of the current situation in China and particularly of potential American foreign policy.

International Health Division  
Rockefeller Foundation

JOHN B. GRANT

**CHANGING CHINA.** By Harrison Forman. New York: Crown Publishers, 1948. 337 pp. \$4.00.

Mr. Forman's book is announced as "a factual account of China as it was and as it is." His description of China's history, border areas, main geographical divisions, social organization and economy is largely based on his wide travels as a newspaper correspondent. Everywhere he noted the details of the life of the people and photographed what he saw. His book contains some 250 photographs on every subject from the money changer to house construction, and the peeling of the bark from trees as a substitute for food. One cannot but admire the wide range of observation and the mass of interesting material included in this volume.

Those who look for an account of China's government, politics or leading personalities will be disappointed. There is only incidental mention of the Communists or the Kuomintang. Nevertheless Mr. Forman's book contains much to commend it to the general reader and to the specialist.

Four chapters are concerned with history. The presentation is usually clear, vivid and with good emphasis on salient points. The details however, are not always judiciously selected. Some parts are one-sided, if not inaccurate. The reign of Fu Hsi is mentioned as "beginning precisely in 2852 B.C." Foreign leadership in the suppression of the Taiping rebellion is over-emphasized. The account of the origins of the "Opium War" shows a lack of information concerning early relations between British and Chinese. The Boxers are referred to as a "Chinese Ku Klux Klan."

A chapter entitled "Mosaemia" indicates the complexity of China's border regions and emphasizes the recent history of the northwest. Chapters on Tibet, Mongolia and Manchuria include both description and history. The ones on "Coastal Provinces," "The Loess Belt," "Yangtze Basin," and "The Southwestern Uplands" cover local production, geography and recent history combined in a somewhat illogical arrangement.

A brief chapter on "The Village," which includes a description of Chinese opera, is followed by chapters on the home, family, education, and Chinese cities. In dealing with education and other topics too much reliance has been placed on such sources as the official Chinese News Service. Social conditions are much better described in Gerald F. Winfield's recent publication on *China: The Land and the People*. Under "Economic Organization," Mr. Forman describes communications, press, food, and industrialization.

The reviewer finds especially valuable the sections based on personal observation. Among these are the analysis of the Battle at Changkufeng Hill (p. 105), and the chapters on the press and on transportation.

University of California

WOODBRIDGE BINGHAM

# NEWS CHRONOLOGY

March 4 to 17, 1949

March 4: *Japan.* Occupation authorities ask for a reduction in the proposed record national budget of 578 billion yen.

March 5: *Guam.* The Guam Assembly walks out in protest against what it calls an attempt by the US Navy to curtail its legislative authority.

March 5: *India.* In answer to criticism from labor groups, Prime Minister Nehru withdraws a proposed bill to outlaw strikes in essential industries.

March 7: *Japan.* Reports state that a decrease in shipments of manganese from India to the US is due to offers of higher prices by SCAP authorities.

March 7: *Micronesia.* The UN Security Council votes to turn over to the Trusteeship Council its functions relating to political, economic, social, and educational matters in the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands (US).

March 8: *China.* Premier Sun Fo announces his resignation and that of his cabinet. Acting President Li Tsung-jen urges the former Minister of National Defense, Gen. Ho Ying-chin, to take over the premiership.

March 8: *India.* Prime Minister Nehru states that "binding covenants" will be avoided by Asian nations in future conferences.

March 8: *Indochina.* An agreement establishing "an independent Viet Nam within the French Commonwealth" is signed at the Elysée Palace in France by French President Vincent Auriol and the former Emperor of Annam, Bao Dai.

March 8: *Japan.* Textile manufacturers meeting in Paterson, New Jersey, launch an attempt to have Congress place an embargo on Japanese woven silks, rayons, and labels in order to eliminate the "ruinous competition forced upon American industry" by the occupation government in Japan.

March 10: *China.* Fifty US Senators ask the Senate Foreign Relations Committee for action on Senator McCarran's bill to set up an aid plan for Nationalist China.

March 10: *Indochina.* Debate in the French National Assembly on the Indochina problem is postponed pending action on a bill which would institute a Cochinchina Assembly, changing Cochinchina's regime from that of a colony to that of an internally independent state, thus setting the pattern for the formation of a Viet Nam state.

March 10: *Indonesia.* During a Security Council debate the United States delegation protests Dutch policy in Indonesia, and insists that the Netherlands allow the Republic of Indonesia to set itself up again as a working government.

March 12: *Burma.* Karen troops occupy a section of Mandalay.

March 12: *China.* General Ho Ying-chin is named Premier.

March 12: *Guam.* The upper house of Guam's Congress joins the lower house in a "strike" stemming from an argument with the naval governor over the authority of the Congress.

March 12: *India.* A conference of Indian and Pakistani military commanders meeting with the UN Commission for India and Pakistan agrees on a provisional truce line to replace the present cease-fire positions in Kashmir.

March 12: *Indochina.* The Cochinchina bill, considered the key to the French proposal to restore peace in Indochina, is passed by the French National Assembly.

March 13: *Japan.* It is reported that Premier Yoshida's

cabinet has decided to form an Un-Japanese Activities Committee under its jurisdiction.

March 14: *Australia.* Representatives of Great Britain, New Zealand, and Australia open defense talks. The Australian Defense Minister expresses hopes for a Pacific defense pact similar to the North Atlantic alliance.

March 14: *Burma.* The Government offers to give the Karen rebel forces an autonomous state of their own within the Burmese Union.

March 14: *China.* The Communist radio announces the establishment of a regional government for a three-province area north of the Yangtze River.

March 14: *Korea.* The Korean Army is reported to have launched a "spring offensive" against Communist-led guerrilla bands in South Korea.

March 14: *Philippines.* The Supreme Court upholds the removal of Jose Avelino as Senate President and the election of Senator Cuenco to fill the post. A "rump Senate" investigating committee had found Avelino guilty on three separate charges involving graft and impropriety.

March 15: *Burma.* Official reports state that Karen rebel forces have gained control of virtually the entire country except for the capital, Rangoon.

March 15: *China.* It is reported that the cost-of-living index is 1,339 times higher than it was in August when the gold yuan was introduced.

March 15: *Japan.* General Douglas MacArthur suspends the operation of the Tokyo-Moscow radio-telegraph circuit. Fifty thousand persons parade in Tokyo in a demonstration ostensibly directed against the Yoshida government but reportedly aimed at the new American austerity policy for Japan.

March 16: *China.* Premier Ho Ying-chin indicates that he would welcome US aid.

March 16: *Korea.* Premier Lee Bum Suk charges that the Soviet Union is actively aiding anti-government guerrilla forces in South Korea.

March 17: *China.* One hundred thousand Communist troops are reported to have been dispatched to join the two major Communist armies operating in eastern and central China. Owing to the delay in proposed peace talks, Nationalist officials are operating on the assumption that the Communist leaders are divided on the question of their next step.

The FAR EASTERN SURVEY assumes no responsibility for the accuracy of items in the "News Chronology." The chronology is based on reports in the *New York Herald Tribune* and the *New York Times*. It is prepared by Arthur N. Feraru.

## FAR EASTERN SURVEY

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PUBLISHED FORTNIGHTLY BY THE AMERICAN INSTITUTE OF PACIFIC RELATIONS, INC., 1 EAST 54TH ST., NEW YORK 22, N. Y. RAY LYMAN WILBUR, Chairman; CLAYTON LANE, Executive Secretary; DONALD B. STRAUS, Treasurer; KATRINE R. C. GREENE, Assistant Secretary; TILLIE O. SHAHN, Assistant Treasurer. ANNUAL SUBSCRIPTION, \$6.00; SINGLE COPIES, 25c.

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~~BY SPECIAL MESSENGER~~

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MAY 20, 1949

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Also enclosed are two photostatic copies of the "Far Eastern Survey" of April 6, 1949, published by the American Institute of Pacific Relations.

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X FOR THIS PAGE X  
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N.B.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

SAC, New York

April 6, 1949

ORDERED - 33-100-64700-104  
Director, FBI  
INSTITUTE OF PACIFIC RELATIONS  
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

3/15/83

Classified by SP/39415  
Declassify on: ORDER

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED EXCEPT  
WHERE OTHERWISE SPECIFIED

[REDACTED]

In the event this information is set forth in a report, the source thereof  
should be appropriately concealed.

REFFERED

b7C

APR 6 1949 DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
FBI  
RECEIVED-HAN BOON

APR 8 1949

COMMUNICATIONS SECTION  
MAILED 9  
★ APR 6 1949 P.M.  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

50 APR 20 1949

Office 7

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• UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Mr. H. A. Madd

DATE: April 20, 1949

FROM : Mr. H. B. Fletcher *H.B.F.*SUBJECT: INSTITUTE OF PACIFIC RELATIONS  
INTERNAL SECURITY - CPURPOSE:

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED *b4 - b7c*  
DATE 3/16/83 BY SRB/BPLS

The purpose of this memorandum is to ascertain through Liaison if the State Department receives publications of the above organization.

BACKGROUND:*b7C*

The above organization is being investigated by this Bureau as a result of allegations that it is a Communist-infiltrated group. Investigation has established some infiltration, although a recent change in leadership has resulted in the removal of individuals with pro-Communist tendencies.

The organization's activities and publications generally deal with international affairs, particularly in the Far East, and are, therefore, of interest to the State Department.

The Bureau, through the New York Office, is furnished a copy of "Far Eastern Survey", published by the above group, as well as numerous other pamphlets and advertisements which it is believed are of interest to the State Department.

In the past, material of this nature in which it is believed the State Department is interested have been photostated and forwarded to that Department.

RECOMMENDATION:*G.I.R.-7*

It is recommended that this memorandum be forwarded to the Liaison Section to ascertain from the State Department if that Department receives publications of the captioned organization. If such is the case, it will then no longer be necessary for the Bureau to duplicate this information for the State Department.

RECORDED - 55 1100-64700-105

REFERRED

*b7C*

01 MAY 1949

5/5/49

*CPD**BB**5/5/49**RAM*

Assistant Attorney General Alexander N. Campbell  
Criminal Division  
Director, FBI

May 20, 1949

INSTITUTE OF PACIFIC RELATIONS  
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

In connection with the above matter, I am enclosing herewith two photostatic copies of the "News of the I. P. R." for April, 1949, containing the annual report of the American Institute of Pacific Relations.

100-64700-103

This is being furnished for your information.

Enclosed

b7c

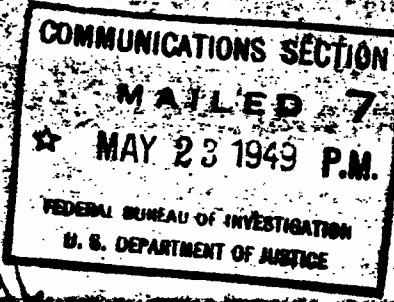
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DATE 3/6/85 BY SP/BS/cls

G. I. R. - 8

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100-64700-106

F-31-91A  
MAY 25 1949



Mr. Tolson  
Mr. E. A. Tamm  
Mr. Glavin  
Mr. Glavin  
Mr. Land  
Mr. Nichols  
Mr. Rosen  
Mr. Tracy  
Mr. Moran  
Mr. Gurnea  
Mr. Harbo  
Mr. Tamm  
Mr. Pennington  
Mr. Quinn Team  
Tele. Room  
Mr. Nease  
Miss Gandy

JUN 10 1949 R

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~  
BY SPECIAL MESSENGER

*mp*  
Date: May 23, 1949

To: Director of Intelligence  
General Staff  
Department of the Army  
The Pentagon  
Washington 25, D.C.

DECLASSIFIED BY 3R/BPA/CIS  
ON 3-16-83

Attention: Chief, Security and Training Group  
From: John Edgar Hoover, Director - Federal Bureau of Investigation  
Subject: INSTITUTE OF PACIFIC RELATIONS  
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

Enclosed herewith for your information is one photostatic copy of the April, 1949, issue of the "News of the I.P.R.", containing the annual report for 1948 of the American Institute of Pacific Relations.

This is being furnished for your confidential information and should not be disseminated outside of your department.

*J. E. H.*  
Enclosure

CC Director of Special Investigations (Enclosure)  
U. S. Air Force  
The Pentagon  
Washington 25, D. C.

CC Director of Naval Intelligence (Enclosure) *SL 10*  
Department of the Navy  
The Pentagon  
Washington 25, D. C.

RECORDED 33 100-64700-107

INDEXED 3337 JUN 2 1949

b7C

COMMUNICATIONS SECTION  
May 23, 1949  
MAY 24 1949 PM  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

RECEIVED

63 JUN 16 1949

# Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

*recd*

TO : Director, FBI

DATE: July 1, 1949

FROM : SAC, New York

SUBJECT: INSTITUTE OF PACIFIC RELATIONS;  
INTERNAL SECURITY-C

Rebulet, June 29, 1949.

Please be advised that a report concerning the above-captioned matter will reach the Bureau not later than July 18, 1949.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 3/6/83 BY SP/BS/PLS

G.I.R.A.  
*fr*

RECORDED - 108

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*RE*

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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

JUL 15 1949

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 3/16/83 BY SP/BS/C/S

Mr. Tolson .....  
Mr. Ladd .....  
Mr. Clegg .....  
Mr. Clavin .....  
Mr. Felt .....  
Mr. Glavin .....  
Mr. Gandy .....  
Mr. Harbo .....  
Mr. Rosen .....  
Tele. Room .....  
Mr. Nease .....

WASHINGTON FROM NEW YORK 38 15 6-1618  
DIRECTOR URGENT

INSTITUTE OF PACIFIC RELATIONS - IS-C. PLEASE BE ADVISED THAT A REPORT CONCERNING INSTANT ORGANIZATION WILL REACH THE BUREAU NOT LATER THAN JULY TWENTY NEXT.

SCHEIDT

1100-64708-109.  
F B I

31 JUL 21 1949

HOLD PLS

RECORDED - 138

EX-34

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WPA  
San Diego, California  
July 24, 2000

DECLASSIFIED BY SPG/Ba/CS  
on 3-23-53

Director, FBI

b7c  
b7d

SECRETARY MATTER - [REDACTED]

b7C  
b7D

Director August, 2000.

copied at the FBI Lab

Office and advised that

overruled the opening of the office of Pacific Relations in San Diego, California, [REDACTED]

b7C

63-636  
63-51, 100 (2)  
Baltimore (2)  
Pittsburgh (2)  
Washington Field (2)

INITIALS OK ORIGINAL

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NOT RECORDED

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AUG 19 1949

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July 22, 2000

For the information of the Bureau and other interested offices, the Institute of Pacific Relations is made up of a group of small buildings located in Balboa Park, San Diego, California, each building being designated to a specific foreign nation, and groups of individuals from various nations congregate at these several cottages for their social activities and festive occasions. According to reliable information, the Institute of Pacific Relations is in no way connected with subversive activities, even though some of the various members of the organization have been connected with the Communist Party.

b7d  
b7c

who were attending the opening ceremonies of the Institute of Asiatic Relations, he was convinced that they were either members of the Communist Party or subscribers to the Communist philosophy. He stated that his primary reason for coming to the San Diego Office of the F.B.I. was to put himself on record that he was not in any way connected with the Communist Party, did not subscribe to the Communist philosophy, and did not wish any reflections to be cast upon him as a result of his attendance of the affair.

b7d  
b7c

[REDACTED] volunteered to furnish information to the San Diego Office in connection with the foreign groups meeting in the San Diego area. [REDACTED] was advised at the time of his visit to this office that the San Diego Office would gladly receive any information which he felt he would like to report.

100-64700

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May 22, 2010

b7c  
b7d

[REDACTED] has expressed a desire to cooperate with the San Diego Office of the F.B.I. in furnishing information in connection with Communist activities.

b7c  
b7d

Very truly yours,

T. H. MC INTIRE, 346

b7C

NY File 100-17808  
Bureau File 100-64700

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 3/6/83 BY R.B.B/cls

RE: [REDACTED] INSTITUTE OF PACIFIC RELATIONS  
INTERNAL SECURITY ACT

Division 1  
Section 7

SAC [REDACTED]  
Supervisor [REDACTED]

A. H. [REDACTED]

b7C

**DELINQUENCY:** This case was closed by letter dated May 29, 1947 in accordance with the policy set forth in SAC Letter #44, 1947. Previous to that date a pending inactive report had been submitted dated January 24, 1947.

The Bureau by letter dated March 31, 1949 instructed the New York Office to submit a report immediately bringing the investigation up to date. This Bureau instruction was repeated by letter dated May 27, 1949 and by letter of June 29, 1949. The Bureau's instructions have not been complied with. The case is in a delinquent status. This investigation should be immediately brought into a current status and the Bureau's instructions complied with without delay.

b7C

**EXPLANATION:** [REDACTED]

Supervisor

No report has been prepared in this case due to the necessity of handling other expedite matters. Nevertheless, it should be noted that a report was dictated on July 14 and 15, 1949 and is in the process of being typed at this time.

Communist Influence  
Self Inspection Report  
New York Office  
SAC Edward Schmidt  
July 18, 1949

100-64700-  
NOT RECORDED  
6 AUG 12 1949

REX

NY 100-64700

New York 7, N. Y.  
July 21, 1949.

MEMO

RE: INSTITUTE OF PACIFIC RELATIONS  
INTERNAL SECURITY - C.

A P<sub>o</sub> report was dictated on 7/14, 15/49 on this case and the  
stenographer has been instructed to handle it expeditiously.

67C [REDACTED]

MA.

67C [REDACTED]

100-17868

95188

Report on

The I.P.R.'s INTERNATIONAL RESEARCH PROGRAM

--Excerpt from--

The IPR BULLETIN, Vol. V., No. 1, May 1949,  
issued by the International Secretariat,  
Institute of Pacific Relations, New York.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 3/9/83 BY [signature]

The following excerpt from the May IPR BULLETIN - the international newsletter sent all the national councils - is being distributed to members of the American IPR in order to give you an overall picture of the Institute's international research program, and of the part played therein by the American IPR. The importance of the IPR as an international organization is clearly evident in this survey, which also indicates the increasing scope and value of work now under way in India and in the newly reconstituted Japan Institute of Pacific Studies.

The last two pages consist of a list of IPR books with a convenient order form. Contributing Members are entitled to a 20% discount on IPR books if ordered within thirty days of publication. Notices of IPR publications come to you enclosed with the FAR EASTERN SURVEY in order to give you the opportunity to use this privilege.

\*\*\*\*\* NEW CATALOGUE \*\*\*\*\*

A comprehensive catalogue of all IPR publications now in print - over 200 titles - will be issued in July. Copies will be sent to all members shortly.

COPIES DESTROYED

7-11  
81 JAN 18 1974

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116  
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52 AUG 12 1949

THE RESEARCH PROGRAM  
OF THE INSTITUTE OF PACIFIC RELATIONS

May 1949

The following list of projects includes all current studies in the IPR research program as of May 1, 1949. It is followed by a supplementary list of other IPR studies now in the press or recently published.

Beginning in June 1949, the IPR plans to launch a new research program on certain aspects of "The Political and Economic Modernization of the Far East and Its Consequences for the Western World." It will include studies on the development of Far Eastern nationalism; on the growth and structure of the modern bureaucracy and modern capitalism in Far Eastern countries; on economic development and improvement of living standards in selected Far Eastern areas; on the role of Western enterprise in Far Eastern modernization; and on some international consequences of the withdrawal of Western power in the Far East. Specific projects in this program are now being formulated and will be announced later.

The first section of the following list relates to the studies financed or sponsored by the International Research Committee of the Institute. The second section includes studies of Far Eastern and Pacific problems started independently by certain National Councils. The list excludes the numerous projects undertaken by some Councils (such as those in Canada and the United Kingdom) on international problems outside the Pacific area. The information on the new and the older uncompleted projects is necessarily subject to later revision as both method and scope of studies often have to be modified from the original plans.

I. PROJECTS IN THE INTERNATIONAL RESEARCH PROGRAM

Far East and General

A SHORT SURVEY OF FAR EASTERN INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS 1937-49. By F. C. Jones. This study is based partly on the author's work for the Survey of International Affairs. It is being prepared under the joint auspices of the International Secretariat and the Royal Institute of International Affairs. To be completed early in 1950.

FAR EASTERN ECONOMIC RECONSTRUCTION. By Horace Belshaw. A preliminary report on the agricultural aspects of this subject was prepared for the Tenth IPR Conference (1947). This is being revised and expanded into a more comprehensive book and will probably be published under the auspices of the International Secretariat in 1950.

88-64788-110

NATIONALISM IN THE POSTWAR FAR EAST. By W. Macmahon Ball. This survey is being prepared under the auspices of the Australian Institute of International Affairs and the International Secretariat. It is scheduled for completion in 1950.

POLITICS AND ECONOMICS IN THE FAR EASTERN WORLD. By Frank M. Tamagna and others. Prepared for the International Secretariat, IPR. A preliminary report based on discussions of a Washington IPR study group was submitted as a paper for the 1947 IPR conference and the final report will be completed in 1949.

DEVELOPMENT OF UPLAND AREAS IN THE FAR EAST. A series of studies on Korea (by Shannon McCune), China (by Pierre Gourou), and the Philippines (by Joseph C. Spencer). Mimeographed. Summer 1949. Additional studies on Japan, Siam, Indochina and Indonesia are planned for a second volume.

ORIENTAL SOCIETY. By Karl A. Wittfogel. This general analysis of Asiatic economic and social structure was begun a good many years ago under the auspices of the International Secretariat, IPR, and now constitutes part of the larger program of research on Asiatic social and institutional history which the author is directing for the Far Eastern Institute, University of Washington. A large part of the book has been completed and it will probably be ready for publication late in 1950.

AMERICAN FAR EASTERN POLICY SINCE 1945. By Miriam S. Farley. This book is to supplement the IPR's earlier volume AMERICA'S FAR EASTERN POLICY by T. A. Bisson. It will be published under the joint auspices of the American IPR and the Secretariat late in 1949.

U. S. ECONOMIC POLICY IN THE FAR EAST. By David Jenkins. A review of economic conditions in Far Eastern countries (especially China, Japan and Korea), with special reference to postwar American economic policy. It will be issued under the joint auspices of the American IPR and the IPR Secretariat late in 1949.

DOCUMENTS ON SOVIET FAR EASTERN POLICY SINCE YALTA. Compiled by William Mandel. This collection of official statements and other materials from Soviet sources will be issued in mimeographed form by the International Secretariat late in 1949.

INTERNATIONAL AIR TRANSPORT. By D. M. Hocking and C. P. Haddon-Cave. This work, undertaken in cooperation with the IPR Secretariat, was originally begun by G. Packer and H. D. Black and was previously listed under the title Aviation in the Pacific. It has now been taken over by the above writers and extended in scope. It will be ready for publication under the auspices of the Australian Institute of International Affairs in 1949.

THE POSTWAR INTERNATIONAL POSITION OF THE BRITISH COMMONWEALTH. By Gwendolen Carter. This study, begun about September 1948, under the auspices of the Social Science Research Council and the Canadian Institute, has been further supported by a special IPR Secretariat grant to enable Professor Carter to devote more attention to India, Pakistan, Ceylon, Australia and New Zealand. She is visiting those countries during the first half of 1949 and will probably complete the report in 1950.

China

ORIGIN AND DEVELOPMENT OF THE MODERN CHINESE BUSINESS CLASS. By Chen Chen-han. This inquiry, undertaken for the China IPR, was begun in Peiping about August 1948 and was to be continued in Shanghai and scheduled for completion in 1950. It is not yet known how far these plans will have to be altered because of events in China. An introductory essay on THE RISE OF THE MODERN CHINESE BUSINESS CLASS by Shih Kuo-heng and Marion J. Levy, Jr., has been prepared for the IPR International Secretariat and was issued in mimeographed form in April 1949.

LAW AND SOCIETY IN CHINA. By Chu Tung-tsu. This revision and translation of an earlier work in the Chinese language will be completed early in 1949. The International Secretariat, in cooperation with the Far Eastern Institute, University of Washington, hopes to arrange for the report to be issued in 1949.

COMMUNISM IN CHINA, 1937-1948. By Michael Lindsay. This study, based partly on the author's experiences in Communist China, is scheduled for completion late in 1949. The project is under the joint auspices of the International Secretariat and the Royal Institute of International Affairs.

THE CHINESE GENTRY. By Fei Hsiao-tung and Quentin Pan. An elaboration of Professor Fei's earlier study which was summarized in his pamphlet PEASANTRY AND GENTRY, published in 1946. It is hoped that this report, which has been prepared at Tsinghua University, Peiping, will be published by the International Secretariat in 1949, with the editorial assistance of Professor and Mrs. Robert Redfield.

CAPITAL FORMATION AND CONSUMERS' OUTLAY IN CHINA. By Ou Pao-san. This technical monograph is to be issued in mimeographed form under the auspices of the International Secretariat and the Institute of Social Sciences, Academia Sinica, Nan-kang, during 1949.

NOTES ON LABOR IN NATIONALIST CHINA 1937-1947. By Israel Epstein, with a supplement on postwar developments by Julian Friedman. A study of wartime labor conditions and changes in the Chinese labor movement. The report will be issued in mimeographed form by the IPR Secretariat in 1949.

LOCAL GOVERNMENT IN CHINA. By Wang Kan-yu. This companion study to "Government and Politics in Modern China" by Chien Tuan-sheng, and also dealing mainly with policies of the Nationalist Government, is now completed and will be issued in mimeographed form under the auspices of the International Secretariat during 1949.

CHINA'S POLITICS. By Lawrence K. Rosinger. Mr. Rosinger is preparing a revised and enlarged edition of his book, CHINA'S WARTIME POLITICS, which is to be completed late in 1949. It is to be published as before by the Princeton University Press under the auspices of the International Secretariat.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF MODERN FORMOSA. By George Kerr. This study covering wartime and postwar developments is being written for the International Secretariat at the Far Eastern Institute, University of Washington. It is scheduled for completion about May 1949.

CHINESE CURRENCY AND FINANCE. By Wu Chi-yuen. An expanded edition of the study issued by the China IPR in 1945. It is hoped that the revised report may be issued in mimeographed form by the International Secretariat in 1949.

Japan

JAPAN'S AGRICULTURAL PROBLEMS. By Andrew J. Grad (formerly Grajdanzev). This extensive survey, dealing mainly with wartime and postwar developments, will be completed about July 1949 and published under the auspices of the International Secretariat, early in 1950.

JAPANESE BANKING AND FINANCE. By Edna Gottesman and Frank M. Tamagna. This study will be completed and published under the auspices of the International Secretariat early in 1950.

THE IMPACT OF SCAP ON JAPAN. By T. A. Bisson. This detailed analysis of the political and economic effects of the Allied occupation of Japan is being prepared under the auspices of the International Secretariat. The report will probably be completed early in 1950. An interim report entitled PROSPECTS FOR DEMOCRACY IN JAPAN has recently been published for the Secretariat by Macmillan, N. Y.

A JAPANESE URBAN COMMUNITY: FUKAYA. By Andrew J. Grad. This intensive socio-economic investigation based on field studies and informants' reports has recently been started under the joint auspices of the International Secretariat and Far Eastern Studies at Yale University. It will be completed late in 1950. It is financed by a special Rockefeller Foundation grant which the Secretariat has agreed to administer.

ASPECTS OF DEMOCRATIZATION IN JAPAN: A SYMPOSIUM. By members of the Japan Institute of Pacific Studies, Tokyo, under the direction of Professor Tadao Yanaibara. Several monographs have been published in 1948 and the whole study will be completed in 1949. The International Secretariat hopes to assist in publishing and distributing the report.

Korea

KOREA'S POSTWAR PROBLEMS. By the late George M. McCune. This political and economic survey entitled The New Korea is now completed and will be published under the auspices of the International Secretariat, probably by the Harvard University Press, late in 1949.

A SHORT HISTORY OF KOREA. By the late George McCune and Evelyn McCune. A brief cultural and political history of the Korean people from prehistoric times to the present. About half of the manuscript had been completed at the time of Professor McCune's death. Mrs. McCune plans to complete the book and it is hoped that it may be published under the auspices of the International Secretariat in 1950.

GEOGRAPHY OF KOREA. By Shannon McCune. This work, utilizing the results of the author's numerous field studies and recent Russian and German studies, will be completed at Colgate University for the International Secretariat late in 1950.

Southeast Asia

SURVEY OF SOUTHEAST ASIA. By Victor Purcell. A two-volume comprehensive study under the joint auspices of the International Secretariat and the Royal Institute of International Affairs. The first volume on The Chinese in Southeast Asia, analyzing the economic, social and political position of the Chinese communities in

Burma, Siam, Indochina, Malaya, British Borneo, Indonesia and the Philippines, will be published in 1950. The second volume giving a more general survey of politics, nationalist movements and economic problems will be completed in 1950.

EFFECTS OF JAPANESE OCCUPATION IN SOUTHEAST ASIA. By Virginia Thompson Adloff and Richard Adloff. This report of a field survey made for the International Secretariat will be completed early in 1950. It will probably be preceded by several shorter monographs on special aspects of the subject. The first of these, a preliminary survey of "Left-Wing Movements in Southeast Asia," will be issued during 1949 by the International Secretariat in cooperation with the Hoover Institute and Library.

DEVELOPMENT OF SELF-GOVERNMENT IN BRITISH FAR EASTERN AND PACIFIC DEPENDENCIES. Work on these memoranda, which are being prepared by Mr. A. S. B. Oliver on the basis of group discussions at Chatham House, has been delayed. The final reports will probably be issued in mimeographed form by the Royal Institute of International Affairs in 1950.

PUBLIC PROBLEMS OF ADMINISTRATION IN BURMA, CEYLON, MALAYA AND HONGKONG. A series of monographs on these areas is being prepared for the Royal Institute of International Affairs. That on Burma by Mr. F. S. V. Donnison is to be completed early in 1949. The reports on Ceylon and on Hongkong by Sir Charles Collins, and on Malaya by Mr. S. W. Jones will be finished late in 1949.

INDOCHINA AND VIET NAM. By Ellen Hammer. This survey of Annamese nationalism and French postwar policy in Indochina will be completed shortly and published under the auspices of the International Secretariat in early 1950.

LAND UTILIZATION IN INDOCHINA. By Pierre Gourou. Translated by Stephen Guest and Elizabeth Pelzer. This large survey was originally published in French by the Centre d'Etudes de Politique Etrangere in 1940. It is expected that the new edition, containing a supplement on postwar developments, will be published under the auspices of the International Secretariat and the Centre d'Etudes late in 1949.

AMERICAN RELATIONS WITH THE PHILIPPINES. This unfinished study by the late Joseph R. Hayden was originally scheduled for inclusion in the IPR Inquiry Series. Arrangements have recently been made with Miss Catherine Porter to revise and bring the study up-to-date and publish it under the auspices of the International Secretariat, early in 1950.

PHILIPPINE NATIONALISM. By Abraham Chapman. This historical study of the evolution of Filipino nationalism is being written for the American IPR. It is scheduled to be finished in 1949.

ECONOMIC EFFECTS OF WAR IN THE PHILIPPINES. By Jose Apostol. This report is being prepared for the Philippine IPR and is scheduled for completion in 1949. A preliminary paper was submitted to the Stratford Conference.

AMERICAN ECONOMIC POLICY TOWARDS THE PHILIPPINES. By Shirley Jenkins. A preliminary draft of this study was submitted as a paper for the Tenth IPR Conference. The revised report will be published under the auspices of the American IPR in 1949.

FREEDOM OF PERSON IN SOUTHEAST ASIA. By Bruno Lasker. This historical study of bondage in many forms is to be issued under the auspices of the IPR Secretariat and the American IPR late in 1949 by the University of North Carolina Press.

THE PHILIPPINE RURAL ECONOMY. By Joseph Spencer, University of California at Los Angeles. This survey based on recent field investigations by the author will be completed for the International Secretariat in 1950.

#### Pacific Islands

AUSTRALIA AND DEPENDENT PEOPLES IN THE SOUTH PACIFIC. By Linden A. Mander. This book is being prepared at the University of Washington for publication under the auspices of the International Secretariat. It will be completed about June 1949.

MICRONESIA TODAY. By Leonard Mason. This survey of political, economic, and social problems in the trust territory since 1945 is being made in cooperation with the University of Hawaii. Preparation of the report has been delayed but it is hoped that it will be published under the auspices of the American IPR in 1950.

LAW AND ADMINISTRATION IN NEW GUINEA. By Thomas P. Fry. This study is to be published under the joint auspices of the Australian Institute of International Affairs and the International Secretariat in 1949.

LAND UTILIZATION IN AUSTRALIA. By S. M. Wadham and G. L. Wood. A revised and enlarged edition of this earlier IPR book is now ready for publication by the Melbourne University Press under the auspices of the International Secretariat and the Australian Institute of International Affairs. It will appear in 1949.

#### India

INDIAN ECONOMIC RELATIONS WITH THE PACIFIC AREA AND THE FAR EAST. By V. K. R. V. Rao. This project under the auspices of the Indian Council of World Affairs has only recently been started and will probably be completed in 1950.

SECURITY PROBLEMS OF INDIA AND THE INDIAN OCEAN AREA. By members of the research staff of the Indian Council of World Affairs under the direction of A. Appadorai. This study, which supplements the other IPR study on "Security Problems in the Pacific," has only recently been started and will probably be completed in 1950.

REQUIREMENTS OF EFFICIENT PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION IN INDIA. By A. D. Gorwalla. This study, under the auspices of the Indian Council of World Affairs, has only recently been started. It is scheduled for completion early in 1950.

POPULATION PRESSURE AND ECONOMIC EFFICIENCY IN INDIA. By D. Ghosh. New American edition with an introduction by Kingsley Davis. To be issued by the IPR International Secretariat in cooperation with the Indian Council. Fall 1949.

## II. OTHER FAR EASTERN AND PACIFIC AREA RESEARCH PROJECTS OF THE IRR NATIONAL COUNCILS

### American Institute of Pacific Relations

ANNUAL REVIEW OF THE FAR EAST AND UNITED STATES FAR EASTERN POLICY. By Lawrence K. Rosinger. The first of a new series of annual surveys which will contain a detailed account of the political, economic, military, and social developments in each country in their national and international setting, with special reference to the policies of the United States. The first volume covering 1949 will be published early in 1950.

THE FAR EAST IN UNITED STATES FOREIGN ECONOMIC POLICY. By Irving S. Friedman and Margaret M. Garritsen. This brief report, stressing the effects of Far Eastern economic developments on the international economic position and financial policy of the United States, will be issued during 1949.

ECONOMIC GEOGRAPHY OF SOUTHEAST ASIA. By Jan O. M. Broek. This study, being prepared under the auspices of the American IPR, and financed by the Coolidge Foundation, has been continued by the author during his stay in Holland and Java. The first volume will probably be completed in 1950.

AN ECONOMIC SUMMARY OF THE OCCUPATION OF JAPAN, 1945-1948. By Keen Peterson. This brief survey is being prepared at the University of Washington as part of the program of the Pacific Northwest Division of the American IPR. To be completed late in 1949.

THE SHAPING OF MODERN INDIA. By Daniel and Alice Thorner. A concise review of social structure and major political and economic developments in India. To be completed in 1949.

POSTWAR FISHERIES IN THE PACIFIC. By Kline Swygard. A short survey of the history of the halibut, sockeye, and other fisheries agreements in effect, and the problems of other fisheries likely to require international control, with emphasis on the postwar fisheries programs of the U.S.A., the U.S.S.R., and of Japan under the Occupation. To be completed for the Pacific Northwest Division of the American IPR late in 1949.

HAWAII IN THE MAKING. By Andrew W. Lind. A short background study of the Islands as they approach statehood. It will probably be completed in 1949.

### Australian Institute of International Affairs

AUSTRALIAN COLONIAL POLICY. By J. D. Legge. A study of Australian policy in Papua up to the outbreak of World War II. Scheduled for publication in 1949.

IMMIGRATION. By W. D. Borrie. A study of Australian immigration policy. Scheduled for publication in 1949.

AUSTRALIA'S FOREIGN POLICY. By Gordon Greenwood. Scheduled for publication in 1949.

THE GOVERNMENT OF SOUTH PACIFIC DEPENDENCIES. (South Pacific Constitutional Documents). By T. P. Fry.

Canadian Institute of International Affairs

CANADA IN WORLD AFFAIRS. Volume III in this survey covering events from September 1941 to May 1944 is being prepared by R. G. Trotter and C. C. Lingard. It is scheduled for publication in 1949. Volume IV is being prepared by F. H. Seward also for publication in 1949.

THE CRISIS IN COLONIAL ADMINISTRATION. Edited by Gordon G. Brown and Solon T. Kimball.

THE U.S.S.R. - LAND, CULTURE AND NATION: A Geographic Approach. By Griffith Taylor, George Tatham, and D. F. Putnam.

CANADA'S NEW NORTH. By Trevor Lloyd. This general survey of northern Canada is scheduled for publication in 1949.

Indian Council of World Affairs

INDIA AND BURMA. By R. Venkateswaran in collaboration with M. A. Raschid.

INDIA AND CHINA. By Tan Yun-shan. This study by a Chinese scholar long resident in India is expected to be completed in late 1949.

INDIA AND MALAYA. By N. Raghavan. This study is expected to be published in late 1949.

Royal Institute of International Affairs

JAPANESE BEHAVIOUR IN WAR AND CONQUEST. By Sir Paul Butler, with the assistance of a group of experts on various aspects of Japanese life. This study is scheduled for completion in 1949.

THE BLACK SHIPS. By G. F. Hudson. This long-term study of the effects of Western influences on the political and social life of Japan since 1856 is being made under the auspices of the Royal Institute of International Affairs.

HONG KONG. Report by a Chatham House study group. It is hoped to complete this during 1949, but publication plans have not yet been decided.

LAND TENURE AND RELATED PROBLEMS IN SOUTHEAST ASIA AND THE PACIFIC: BIBLIOGRAPHY. Material available in Great Britain on the above subject relating to Malaya, Ceylon and Fiji has been completed by Miss M. Mortimer. Work is now being continued by Mr. James Joslin who is drafting the section on British North Borneo and Sarawak.

SURVEY OF INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS, 1939-45. Dr. F. C. Jones is writing the Far Eastern sections of the Survey. It is hoped that the first three volumes will be ready for press in the spring of 1949.

DOCUMENTS ON INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS, 1939-45. Selected Far East documents will appear in the several volumes projected.

Japan Institute of Pacific Studies

A SHORT HISTORY OF MODERN JAPAN. This cooperative study is under the direction of Professor Tadao Yanaibara. It includes sections on political history by Yoshitaka Oka, economic history by Hisaye Ouchi, legal systems by Sakaye Wagatsuma, and education by Munetami Kaigo. It will be issued under the auspices of the Japan Institute of Pacific Studies and is scheduled for completion in 1949. The International Secretariat hopes to assist in making publication arrangements.

LAND UTILIZATION AND AGRARIAN PROBLEMS IN JAPAN. By Moritaro Yamada. This is to be a large-scale investigation designed to supersede the earlier interim Japan IPR reports, Aspects of Japanese Agriculture and Land Utilization in Japan, by Shiroshi Nasu. The report will probably be completed and issued under the auspices of the Japan Institute of Pacific Studies, Tokyo, in 1950.

MEDIUM AND SMALL INDUSTRIES IN JAPAN. By Keizo Fujita. This study has recently been undertaken for the Japan Institute of Pacific Studies (Osaka Branch) and will probably be completed in 1950.

THE FAMILY SYSTEM IN JAPAN. By Hiroshi Suyekawa. This socio-anthropological inquiry has recently been undertaken for the Japan Institute of Pacific Studies. It will probably be completed in 1950.

JAPAN'S WARTIME AND PRESENT-DAY COTTON INDUSTRY. By Minoru Toyesaki, Toichi Nawa and Hiroshi Shinjo. This recently started survey is being conducted for the Japan Institute of Pacific Studies (Osaka Branch). It will probably be completed in 1950.

IPR STUDIES IN THE PRESS

The following studies will be issued under the auspices of the IPR International Secretariat.

THE WESTERN WORLD AND JAPAN. By Sir George Sansom. A comprehensive survey of Western influences from the earliest times down to the end of the nineteenth century. New York: Alfred A. Knopf. October 1949. 530 pp. \$7.50.

LABOR PROBLEMS IN JAPAN. By Miriam S. Farley. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. Fall 1949.

OUTER MONGOLIA AND ITS INTERNATIONAL POSITION. By Gerard Friters, edited with an Introduction by Owen and Eleanor Lattimore. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press. Fall 1949.

GOVERNMENT AND POLITICS IN CHINA. By Chien Tuan-sheng. With an Introduction by Arthur N. Holcombe. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. Late 1949.

THE SOUTH SEAS IN TRANSITION. By W. E. H. Stanner. To be issued under the joint auspices of the Australian Institute and the IPR Secretariat. Sydney: Australasian Publishing Company. Fall 1949.

THE CHINESE IN SOUTHEAST ASIA. By Victor Purcell. The first volume of a two-volume survey of Southeast Asia. To be issued under the joint auspices of the Royal Institute and the IPR Secretariat. Early 1950.

GOVERNMENT AND RECONSTRUCTION IN THE SOUTHWEST PACIFIC. By Cyril Belshaw. A report of postwar conditions and administration in New Caledonia, New Hebrides, and the Solomon Islands. To be issued under the joint auspices of the Royal Institute and the IPR Secretariat. Late 1949.

PROBLEMS OF ECONOMIC RECONSTRUCTION IN THE FAR EAST. Report of the Tenth IPR International Conference, Stratford-upon-Avon, England, 1947. To be mimeographed. Summer 1949.

May 1949

NEW IPR BOOKS

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To order, note the titles by number and circle on order blank on last page.

1. JAPAN'S ECONOMY IN WAR AND RECONSTRUCTION. By Jerome B. Cohen. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press. 1949. 545 pp. With 17 charts and over 82 tables. \$7.50
2. JAPAN - ENEMY OR ALLY? By W. Macmahon Ball. Issued jointly with the Australian Institute. New York: John Day. 1949. 256 pp. \$3.00
3. MANCHURIA SINCE 1931. By F. C. Jones. Issued jointly with the Royal Institute. New York: Oxford University Press. Spring 1949. 260 pp. \$6.50
4. THE FAMILY REVOLUTION IN MODERN CHINA. By Marion J. Levy, Jr. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1949. 400 pp. \$6.00
5. HISTORY OF CHINESE SOCIETY: LIAO (907-1125 A.D.). By Karl A. Wittfogel and Feng Chia-shêng. Issued under the auspices of the American Philosophical Society and the American IPR. New York: Macmillan. 1949. 760 pp. \$12.50
6. TRUSTEESHIP IN THE PACIFIC. Edited by A. H. McDonald. Issued jointly with the Australian Institute. Sydney: Angus & Robertson. 1949. 171 pp. \$2.75
7. SECURITY PROBLEMS IN THE PACIFIC REGION. By Tristan Buesst, W. Macmahon Ball, and Gerald Packer. Issued jointly with the Australian Institute. Melbourne: Robertson & Mullens, Ltd. 1949. 78 pp. (paper cover) \$1.00

OTHER RECENT IPR PUBLICATIONS

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10. NEW PATHS FOR JAPAN. By Harold Wakefield. Issued jointly with the Royal Institute. London & New York: Oxford. 1948. 223 pp. \$3.75
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12. THE INDONESIAN STORY: The Birth, Growth and Structure of the Indonesian Republic. By Charles Wolf, Jr. Issued under the auspices of the American IPR. New York: John Day. 1948. 208 pp. \$3.00

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16. CHINA: THE LAND AND THE PEOPLE. By Gerald F. Winfield. Issued under the auspices of the American IPR. New York: William Sloane Associates. 1948. 450 pp. \$5.00
17. CHINA'S ECONOMIC STABILIZATION AND RECONSTRUCTION. By D. K. Lieu. Issued jointly by the Sino-International Economic Research Center and the China IPR. New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press. 1948. 159 pp. \$3.00
18. WHAT CAN THE UNITED STATES DO IN CHINA? By Gerald F. Winfield, John K. Fairbank, and George E. Taylor. American IPR and Foreign Policy Association, New York. 1949. 16 pp., paper. \$.25
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22. THE PHILIPPINES - PROBLEMS OF INDEPENDENCE. By Lawrence K. Rosinger. American IPR and Foreign Policy Association, New York. 1948. 16 pp. paper. \$.25
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